INDIVIDUALITY AND EDUCATION

JOSEPH ALEXANDER LEIGHTON



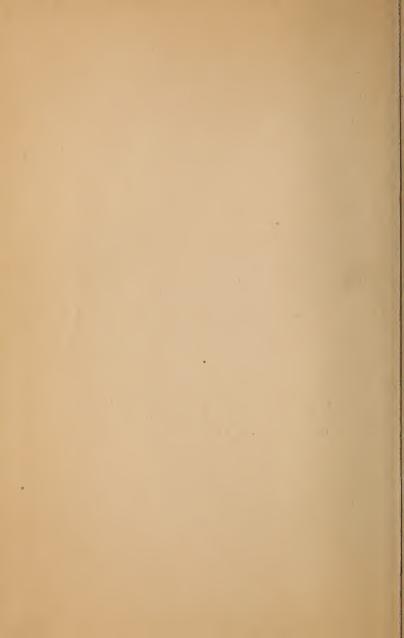
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INDIVIDUALITY AND EDUCATION

By JOSEPH A. LEIGHTON

INDIVIDUALITY AND EDU-CATION

MAN AND THE COSMOS

THE FIELD OF PHILOSOPHY

RELIGION AND THE MIND OF TODAY

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

INDIVIDUALITY AND EDUCATION

A Democratic Philosophy of Education

BY

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TO GEORGE FREDERICK ARPS AN UNPEDANTIC PEDAGOGUE AND A SOUND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHER

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PREFACE

The purpose of this little book is to outline a social philosophy of education for a democracy and to make certain applications that are of outstanding importance. There are three fundamental theses in the argument. The first thesis is that the paramount interest and purpose of education in a democratic society is the nurturing and functioning of socialized individuality, or selfdetermining personality. Personality is the achiever. center, and enjoyer of all values. To be a person in a community of persons is the all-inclusive and supreme value, or good of living. In so far as this end is not effectively recognized, the community suffers in all ways. Human life is thwarted, maimed and wasted, because its possibilities are not realized. Society either becomes arrested and ossified, the mainspring of life dying out of it; or it becomes the theater of incessant conflicts and disorders

My second thesis is that a more dynamic and higher-grade teaching personnel is the prime condition of educational improvement. This applies to all phases of education, from the kindergarten to the university. It is important to have good buildings and equipment. But of what use is it to build and furnish educational palaces and to put spiritual pygmies in charge of them? It is good to have teachers trained in educational methods, but these methods will not operate themselves.

The application of an educational method is a complex human problem, which can only be worked out by an able user. In the hands of teachers of inferior mentality a method useful in the hand of a superior teacher becomes a cast-iron and lifeless procedure. No amount of training in method will infuse energy and intelligence into a mentally sluggish, ignorant and uninterested teacher. Courses in educational methods are good in their place, as furnishing suggestions, not rigid codes, for dynamic and well-equipped teachers. But they are not synthetic substitutes for knowledge and insight and energy. Useful to those who are endowed with dynamic quality and insight and can use them freely as tools, they are worse than useless to those who have neither spirit nor insight.

The same is true of curricula. There are certain subjects that are of paramount importance: these are literature, history, elementary science, and civic morals. There are other studies which are of less importance in laying the foundation of a liberal education and must not be allowed to usurp the places of the central studies. But here again it is more important that the teacher have genuine insight and power than what subject he or she may teach.

My third thesis is that education demands a greater investment of both intelligent concern and money than any society has yet made, if it is to yield an abundant harvest in social well-being and individual happiness.

Several of the following chapters were written as independent lectures. For this reason, in order to

emphasize the points involved, the author has permitted the repetitions to remain.

Portions of several chapters have appeared in the following journals: School and Society, The Educational Review and The Churchman.

J. A. L.



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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL AND THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

There are two principal defects in American education. These are: (1) the failure to develop a sufficiently lively and intelligent sense of social obligation, and (2) the failure to develop the scientific temper of mind. How may these virtues be strengthened?

1. A vigorous sense of social obligation can come only by the pupil acquiring an intelligent awareness of the enormous debt which he or she owes to the past labors of all the generations of men who have built up the social heritage which makes it possible for the growing generation to set out on its career with all the equipment in the shape of language, literature, customs, laws, morals, standards, principles, applied arts, sciences, and religious insights which are the cumulative heritage of the past.

The pupil takes all these factors in social culture for granted, assumes that they are his by right. And so they are, if he uses them aright. There is no right without a corresponding obligation. He does not realize that, without the rich inheritance of social culture, he would be a naked, shivering, fear-ridden, and miserable savage. The problem of international order and peace is an educational problem. Our

young must be educated into an international attitude of mind.

Education will be a failure unless it burns into the minds of the young two great truths of human life. These are: (1) The enormous dependence of the living generation on the creations of other peoples in the past which have contributed so much to our social culture. (2) The present and ever increasing interdependence of men.

The world has shrunk in size. Nations and races that a few years ago were scarcely aware of one another's existence have become near neighbors and thus dependent on one another for continued prosperity and progress. We live in the midst of a new integration of humanity for good or for ill.

The pupil should be taught to see himself and his work as a vital link in the continuity of human culture. There must be awakened in him the resolve, not to mar or destroy but to hand on intact and, if possible, enriched, the heritage of culture which has made it possible for him to enter into and use language and literature, the applied and fine arts of living, moral and social order.

2. The second great need in education is the cultivation of the scientific temper or attitude of mind.

Notwithstanding the considerable amount of natural science that is studied in our schools, we have not yet succeeded in developing the scientific temper, even among the more intelligent minority. What does one mean by the scientific temper? The essence of it is the spirit of dispassionate enquiry, of weighing evidence,

of suspending judgment until the evidence is all in. One can have this temper without being an expert scientist.

It is difficult to develop the scientific attitude, since there is a strong impulsive tendency in human nature to hasten to conclusions, to accept propositions on little or no evidence. This impulse Alexander Bain called "primitive credulity." It is nearly as marked in the average members of highly civilized nations as in so-called savages. It is particularly marked in our civilization, with reference to personal and social matters. Otherwise "educated" individuals display childish fears, prejudices, and passions, based on ignorance and vague suggestion on such matters as socialism, Bolshevism, communism, religion.

So long as education consists chiefly in the dogmatic teaching and learning of so-called "facts" and "laws," without inquisition into their meanings and evidential grounds and without the weighing of evidence by the pupils; so long as the student is expected to accept what he is "told" by the teacher or book, so long will the scientific spirit be absent.

It is only such matters as: the actual structure of language, the bare bones of history, geography, and the sensuous data on which science is built that should be regarded as "given." Even in history and physical science the student should be made aware of the uncertain character of many so-called "facts."

Not only in the natural sciences, but in history and civics as well, the student should be incited to enquire, that is, to *doubt*, to analyze, to weigh evidence and to

generalize only upon the evidence; holding general propositions tentatively and subject to revision; in short, recognizing that, in the vast majority of propositions, what we have to go upon is only a greater or less degree of probability.

The scientific method, applicable to all subjects, consists of two processes: (1) the accurate observing, analyzing and describing of a body of facts or data; and (2) the organizing, or systematizing or ordering of these facts, by the formation of suitable concepts or hypotheses, into general propositions.

In turn these general truths lead on to the discovery of further facts; the latter in turn, may lead to revision or extension of the original theory.

Thus the two processes of science, observation of particular facts and formation of theories or general truths, play back and forth into one another constantly.

The scientific attitude must be united with the social spirit. The student must be shown the social values of science. The more obvious social value of science lies in its applications, in giving man control over nature, in enabling him to lead a more abundant life by releasing his energies and his time from the hand-to-hand struggle for mere existence. Every one can see how locomotion and communication, transportation and production and distribution of the material instruments and the means for enjoying leisure, are enormously facilitated by applied science. But, more than this, it should be brought home to the student's mind that the scientific spirit is a great hu-

mane good; since its substitutes for the blind reactions of fear, lust, greed, revenge, the unbiased and impersonal probing into the causes of human disease and social disorder; thus putting into man's hands the only effective means for mitigating and removing these causes. The application of the scientific spirit to humane ends, to the study of human defects, diseases, and social disorders does not mean callousness nor selfishness—individual, group, or national. Great scientists are always humanitarians. The greatest task of civilized humanity is now the application of scientific method, in the spirit of love and the desire for a finer humanity, to the problems of disease, poverty, crime, vice; to our social disorder. The coming century should be the century of social science and its applications, just as the nineteenth was the century of physical science.

When so many understand and use scientific methods in dealing with physical processes and even with the breeding of animals and plants and yet take a prescientific attitude in dealing with human nature; for example, in indifference to the effects of poverty and disease on mental disorders, vice, and crime; when they speak, in the spirit of savage revenge, as though defective human creatures had a full measure of absolute mental freedom and responsibility, it is clear as daylight that a great task of education is to inculculate the scientific spirit and to show its further applications to human nature and society.

The trouble with our book learning, like our newspaper and magazine reading, is that it tends to incul-

cate the attitude that whatever is printed is "so." So that universal literacy and the acquisition of much information and misinformation is quite compatible with the lack of mental poise; with credulity and the sway of passion and prejudice; even with the persistence of crass superstition, belief in magic, second sight, astrology, and the thousand and one cults that flourish in our great cities.

The cultivation of the attitude of skepticism, namely the doubt-enquiry attitude of mind, the temper that asks why? and that demands evidence, is essential to a genuine education. If the spirit of doubt-enquiry does not win against the spirit of primitive credulity, all the boasted technical and material powers of our civilization may result in its collapse and self-destruction. How many people realize, for example, that their beliefs in regard to the character and purposes of other peoples are based on sensational, grossly distorted, ephemeral "news," gathered and printed solely to make profit from sensation mongering. This is true both of news in regard to many individuals who get publicity and to international matters.

And how sorely this temper of suspense of judgment, critical enquiry, is needed in a civilization, so complex in which dogmatic statements, ill-founded propositions, and untrustworthy rumor are constantly raining upon our minds.

CHAPTER II

INDIVIDUALITY, THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL IDEAL IN EDUCATION

The first step in the evaluation and guidance of a publicly supported system of education is to decide what is to be our paramount aim, what our social ideal; in short, what sort of community we shall aim to develop. The next step will be to consider how this can best be done.

What is public education for? Why should organized society, the state and its local subdivisions, invest more of its money in education, and its members give more thought than it does to education? A clear and unfaltering answer to this question is of the most utmost importance. Without it we merely muddle along and our educational activities become a series of compromises between conflicting interests. The answer to the question, "What is the fundamental aim of education?" is the same as the answer to the question, "Why do we have organized society; why do we have communities and states?" I repeat, the purpose of education is an integral, and indeed the most essential, part of the purpose of the state and of all organized society. The type of fundamental education we shall have will follow from the type of society we are aiming at. The social type we aim at, if we aim at all,

depends on our conception of the good life for individuals.

It is often said that the basic aim of education is to fit the individual to be a "good" or an "efficient" member of society, and so it is. Organized society can endure and progress only in so far as its individual members are active contributors to its cultural wealth. One means by "wealth" here the sum of the cultural and practical achievements on which the ongoing of society depends. But this definition does not get us far. It does not furnish us much guidance. must know what we mean by "good' and "efficient" members, by "social progress," by "social welfare." It all depends on what kind of a society one has in mind. What is the social ideal at which we should aim? The fundamental quality and direction of our education will follow from our social ideal. If we are to aim principally at building up a nation that is to become ever more prosperous and powerful in an economic and military way, if we are to sacrifice all other goods to national material well-being, and to consider the interests of other peoples only in so far as it profits us in material goods, then one kind of education will be implied. If our ideal is to develop the full humanity of all our children, with due regard to their membership in the whole realm of humanity, our educational plan will be quite a different one. In short, education guided by the democratic ideal will be quite different from education controlled solely by hereditary privilege or monetary power. The one form of social control that is incompatible with the democratic ideal to-day is the plutocratic, which makes educational advantage dependent solely on the possession of material wealth, whether inherited or acquired.

There is no incompatibility between genuine aristocracy and democracy. Indeed, a real democracy needs a genuine aristocracy for its social efficiency and progress. In the past, education has usually been conducted primarily in the interests of a privileged minority. It has been aristocratic, in the sense in which aristocracy is opposed to democracy. But it has really been largely plutocratic. This means, not a society in which those who are best fitted by nature to rule and lead do rule and lead. It means a society in which the children of those who rule, by inheritance of material wealth and other forms of social power, or by the acquisition of wealth and other forms of social power, are able to get superior advantages and to retain their wealth and other forms of social power. The line of division between aristocracy and plutocracy has never been a sharp one. Those who have had control of an excess of material goods, over and above the minimum required for subsistence, have always been able to command superior educational advantages in proportion to their surplus wealth. And they still do so in our actual democracy.

The aristocracies of the past have been spurious. They have really been plutocracies and oligarchies based on hereditary privilege, economic power, or military force; generally on admixtures of all these forces. And the educational policy has always been to afford

to the minority superior educational advantages and to the mass of people little or no educational opportunities.

The democratic social ideal is that all the members of society shall equally have the opportunity to develop, to realize and to enjoy their normal capacities and aptitudes. In a genuine democracy all other social activities; the production and distribution of economic goods, lawmaking and law enforcement, social administration and political processes; are kept strictly instrumental to this one aim—the enrichment and enlargement of life for all the members of society.

The democratic ideal of education is that the whole business of education shall be so conducted as to afford to every child a full opportunity to realize his personality, as a member of society; to develop, exercise, and enjoy his fundamental human capacities and special aptitudes; and, by so doing, to play his individual part in the life of society.

In order that the individual may do all this effectively, he must become an intelligent, a responsible, a self-directing person. The distinction of most importance in our world is that between *material things*, which have no inner capacity for feeling, choice, self-direction, responsibility; and *persons*, to whom belong all these capacities. The degree of progress of any human society toward the true social ideal is to be measured precisely in terms of the opportunities and incitements it affords for all its members to achieve personality; that is, moral and socialized individuality.

It is an error, which has all sorts of bad conse-

quences, bad for the individual and the society, to suppose that moral development or moral education is some special department which has its own peculiar methods and technique. In as much as the field of morality is just the entire area of the individual's active relations to his fellows, and in as much as education is a socializing process at the same time that it is a personalizing process; all genuine education is moral education, all proper development is moral development. The paramount purpose of education is the realization of the good life.

It will be objected to the last statement that it confuses individual ends and social ends, individual goods and social goods. But the attempt to separate individual goods and social goods is based on a false opposition. It is true that the individual has private interests and feelings and ideas that are significant for him, but which cannot easily be translated into social purposes. But all the individual's qualities and attitudes have potential social bearings.

In the main the truth is that the fullest development and exercise of individuality, in normal and reasonable fashion, is precisely the richest source of social welfare.

The developing self becomes a person only in social relations; through participating in, assimilating, and using the culture of the society in which he is nurtured and lives.

Since a society is nothing apart from, nothing other than the interrelationships of communication, coöperation, and mutual feeling among its individual members; a better society can come into being only as the proportion of good members increases. A better society can only consist of better individuals—of individuals who more and more realize their human vocations. Personality or individuality—I am using the terms here as synonymous—is essentially a social concept. The baby "new to earth and sky" becomes an individual person only in so far as it develops into conscious, purposive, self-directed life and activity. It so develops only in so far as it shares in the cultural life of a community.

Thus an ideal society consists of free or self-directing members, each of which recognizes the worth of others and finds his own individual satisfaction in living as a coöperating member of the community of persons. Thus the true aim of education, in all its forms, is to aid the growing individual to become a self-directing, thoughtful, socially minded personality; one able to satisfy his fundamental interests and live in coöperation and fellowship with other persons.

In a democratic society this aim of education takes in all individuals, not a privileged few. There is as yet, in this sense, no completely democratic society in being. But the United States, through its public educational system, ever more nearly approaches the ideal, as the system improves. A universal system of publicly supported education is the one fundamental and indispensable instrument for the fulfillment of the democratic ideal of human society. In sum, the social ideal which should control our educational practice and guide our educational faith, is that of a society in

which all the normal and basic capacities of human nature can come to fruition through continuous selfexpression.

If the phrase be understood rightly the aim of education is the *development and enjoyment of individuality*. It is the realization, in the fullest measure possible under the conditions of human existence, of comprehensive and harmonious self-activity. It is self-realization, through self-expression, self-control, self-direction; always as a member of the community.

True individuality is not freakishness or oddity. It is not just being different from one's fellows, though differences are quite as important as samenesses in the members of the community. The habitual criminal, the misanthrope, the hermit, the insane individual, are not true persons. Even the misanthrope is social. The bottom would fall out of his selfhood, if he were absolutely alone, with none of his fellows left to hate. His occupation would be gone. The misogynist's occupation would be gone, if there were no women left in the world. Even the hermit, who turns his back on his fellow men, because of his unfortunate experiences, carries some social relations with him into the solitudes.

The fact is that all human beings are inevitably and inextricably social. Although they may not get on very well with their fellows, they cannot get on at all without them. The individual develops his personality only in the give-and-take of social relations. His very consciousness of self, his self-respect, his self-

forgetfulness, his pride, his humility are all socially conditioned.

Since, in every case, the individual is a social being, is one who realizes and enjoys his individuality only with reference to his fellows; and, since an actual community always consists of individuals living in certain relations; it is nonsense to attempt to conceive a society in which the interests and activities of individuals are entirely subordinated to social ends. For what does one mean by social ends or purposes? Simply those ends or purposes which individuals can will together and, by coöperative effort, realize together. And those common purposes are always actually enjoyed by individuals; since only individuals think, will, and feel.

The true distinction, with reference to social ends, is between a good and a bad individualism. A bad individualism is one in which many or some individuals are not respected and treated as having any inherent worth in themselves; but are used merely as tools to serve the special interests of other individuals. The good individualism in social practice is one in which all the members of society are given equal opportunities to realize and enjoy their own capacities and aptitudes. This is the difference between oligarchic and democratic individualism. All so-called-and miscalled—aristocratic societies are those in which the many are sacrificed to the few. Democracy, as a social ideal, simply means that every one shall have a fair chance. And the prime condition of a fair chance is equalization of educational opportunities; which implies, of course, that the pupil shall have food, shelter, and clothing sufficient to enable him to take advantage of the opportunities.

On the other hand, equalization of opportunity does not mean the obliteration of distinctions, the filing down of differences between individuals. Individuals are born, not only different in the sense of having a variety of capacities and aptitudes. They are born unequal, with respect to the same capacities and aptitudes. Until we have learned to standardize the production of babies, as we now do automobile parts, this will continue to be so. That is, in all probability, so long as the human race endures. It is just as well that it is so. Human life would lose most of its interest, if all human beings were alike. Nature seems to have been aiming, throughout the evolutionary process, at the production of the greatest possible development of various individualities. Certainly the scale on which we measure evolution is individuality. What we mean by "lower" is an organism possessing less initiative, less varied power of adaptation to, and control of, the environment. What we mean by "higher" is an organism possessing greater wealth of impulse, activity, adaptativeness, initiative, inventiveness, capacity to control its environment and to build up a life of its own.

Human social culture, from its crudest beginnings to the present time, is the increasing and progressing enrichment of human capacity and enjoyment, through the coöperation of various individuals, groups and generations. The generations perish, groups disappear and others rise to tread the stage of history for a time. But the march of culture goes on through

the efforts of associated individuals. We do not know any limit to the march.

Therefore a society in which many or even a comparatively few individuals are shut out from realizing their individualities and, through this, making their special contributions to the social heritage, is an unprogressive and even a retrograding society. I care not whether it be called politically, an autocracy, an oligarchy, or a democracy; whether it be through the control of power by the few, or by the ignorance, emotionalism, and mental sheepishness of the many; such a society is not, from the standpoint of human happiness and progress, a good society. Mental standardization through the dominance of the money power over the instruments of human culture (over education, the press, the arts, and politics) is bad. There can be no lasting social progress without full opportunity for the development and free play of the spiritual individualities of all the members of a society.

The worst fate that can befall a nation to-day is spiritual standardization. And perhaps the danger of it was never before so great in this republic as now. It is the worst fate for two reasons:

r. The enormously increased complexity of our social machinery—economic, administrative, educational, and cultural—at home, and the increasing ramification of our international relations require the greatest possible development of intellectual initiative and moral leadership. The social strain of industrial, economic, social, legal, moral, and international relations is increasing. The strain on education, which has to

bear all these other strains is correspondingly increasing. It is plain as day that the increased prosperity and leisure have not been accompanied by any considerable improvement in the desires and tastes which can be gratified by increased means and leisure. What will become of the nation if, with greater material prosperity, a larger proportion of our people waste their wealth and leisure in crude, silly, and degrading pleasures? If the mass of the people, content with food, comforts, and sensuous enjoyments, are so insensible as not to care who leads them or whether or how they are being led, sentimental slush about democracy and our glorious destiny will not help us.

2. The increase of mass power, through the growth of organized production and distribution of material goods and the corresponding increased financial power of those who reap huge profit by catering to the wants and crude pleasures of the uncultured, unthinking mass; especially in the fields of journalism and amusements, tend towards more and more mediocrity, towards low standards in education, public service, and public taste. This mass power moves with acceleration towards the extinction of good taste, of mental and spiritual distinction, of intellectual discrimination; in short, towards the obliteration of excellence in all aspects of our cultural life except the physical—in art, letters, science, education—unless it be checked and led by an increasing proportion of capable and highminded individuals who recognize their duty to serve and who are recognized by the mass. Without the discovery and placement in position of those individuals

who are fit to lead we shall all become mass-puppets, dancing to the tunes enjoyed by a vulgar herd of sensuous human beings.¹

Education is a process that must include the whole mass; but, from the beginning, with the sympathetic understanding eye of the teacher on the budding individuality of every pupil. As the process goes on, discrimination and selection must take place and higher education (higher, only in the sense of being more difficult, more exacting not morally higher) be limited to those who show that they can profit by it. In so far as higher education is spent on those who cannot profit by it, society loses just so much by wasted efforts; and the failures lose by misdirection of effort, wasted time, and the heartburning that comes to the sensitive square peg that it is attempted to fit into a round hole.

To sum up: our powers of production and distribution of material goods, with a corresponding increase of physical comfort and leisure have far outrun any improvement in standards of consumption of our surplus wealth and leisure. As a people we are advancing, with accelerating velocity, in the control of the physical means of existence. Are we advancing at all in wisdom and good taste, morally and æsthetically, in the uses we make of our leisure and money? It is doubtful. One of the greatest problems of education is to nurture the youth for a wiser, nobler, richer, more permanently satisfying use of leisure than their elders are making.

 $^{^{\}mbox{\sc 1}}$ "Culture" in this work is used to include all the achievements of civilized society.

CHAPTER III

ACTUALITIES OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

The governments of almost all the industrially progressive peoples of the world are more or less democratic. Those that are less so are becoming more so in Europe and America, with the exception of Russia, Italy, and Spain. Political democracy involves political equality, the equal right of all citizens of the state to participate in its rule. But political democracy is instrumental to an end beyond itself—namely, the realization of *social democracy*, which means the right of all to equal opportunity to realize their human capacities as members of society, to satisfy their basic human interests.

Democracy is threatened by various dangers. In practice there is the failure of the citizens to discharge intelligently their responsibilities as voters, in choosing good representatives and public servants. Many even ignore entirely their political responsibilities. Others, who exercise them, do not do so wisely. They are influenced by other considerations than the public good; by personal feeling, expectation of personal favors, party clamor and buncombe, and various other red herrings drawn across the trail.

Many do not vote intelligently. Many do not vote disinterestedly. On the other hand, the work of law-

making bodies sometimes seems so inept and so remote from the interests of the ordinary citizen that it hardly seems worth while to vote. Much of our political machinery has become so cumbersome and futile that the ordinary man is tempted into a fatalistic attitude. What can one do? Direct primaries have failed to improve the quality of candidates for public office. has become increasingly difficult to get reliable information as to their qualifications for office. primaries have, perhaps, resulted in a decline in the characters and intelligence of the general run of office seekers. The affairs of state, the concerns of the public good, are becoming rapidly more complex and difficult. It is more and more difficult, in view of the increasingly large scale organization of industry and business, the movement of people, the massing in towns and cities, the complexities of traffic, the complexities of international affairs, for the democracy to be so informed that it can either decide wisely or choose leaders and public servants who will decide wisely in these matters.

The only remedy for this alarming situation is a more efficient system of public education. While autocracies may get along with meager education for the mass, a democratic society's very existence, not to speak of its improvement, depends on the best possible system of public education. Thus education is the one concern which is the very lifeblood of democracy.

Without doubt democracy, thus far in its history, has tended toward mediocrity in the quality of its accepted leaders and servants and in the standards for performance in every form of social activity in which it engages. James Bryce, than whom a more sympathetic and better informed student of democracy has never existed, concluded, after a lifelong study, that democracies probably get just as much honesty as any other form of government but less efficiency.

In education, it is scarcely open to question that publicly supported schools have lower standards for personnel and achievement than the better, privately supported schools.

In public life, in legislatures, executive departments and the civil service and in the elective judiciary, there is little doubt that the more thoroughly democratic the method of selection, the poorer the results, on the whole. In the case of the more important offices of state, a really able and independent candidate has a poor chance. If he be little known his chance is slight. If he be well known, his ability and independence will already have made him enemies in some considerable portion of the voters.

Thus, our congressmen, senators, and executives are usually men of mediocre parts. It is true that sometimes, by chance, a really able man is elected. This happened in the cases of Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. The people did not know how independent and able Cleveland was. Roosevelt became president by the assassination of Mc-Kinley, after having been shelved in the vice-presidency. Wilson's nomination was to break a deadlock.

I do not see any chance for permanent improvement, until the people are sufficiently educated to be willing to take the step of electing fewer representatives and of higher quality and putting the responsibility on them to select their subordinates.

In sum, unless education for social efficiency, the socialization of motives, and emphases on the social values of the various subjects of instruction are either empty and meaningless phrases, or else merely pompous and platitudinous circumlocutions for saying that our actual social order is perfect and education must fit the young into this existing order, we must have a *social ideal* to guide us in shaping education. Since the social value of education can only be measured by reference to the social standard or ideal which we accept, we must have a social ideal before we can discuss social aims in education.

It is often said that, whereas the educational systems of the past were individualistic, since they set up the individual as the goal, our system must become socialized. But what type of society or community are we to aim at? In fact, there has been no type of community, from a patriarchal family, a clan or tribe, to a modern European state, in which education, the training and molding of the young, has not aimed at fitting the child to be a member of that particular society. The educational systems of the American Indians, the Australian blackfellows, the African Bushmen, the Spartans, the Athenians, the Romans, the medieval Christians, the modern Germans, or the English have all been aimed to fit the child to be a member of their particular types of society. There never has been a purely individualistic system of education. Of course,

under the rule of industrial individualism, laissez faire, the type of education would emphasize individual industry, initiative, thrift, and self-assertion; under the communism of the Incas or the Bolshevists, it would emphasize very different qualities, coöperation, submission, obedience, passivity.

To say, then, that the fundamental contrast, in educational aims, is between individual aims and socialized aims is misleading and covers up the real issue. All education must be education of the individual for membership in some type of social order. The real issue is this: at what type of social order shall education be aimed? The kind or kinds of individuality that education should aim to develop will depend on the kind of society we regard as most nearly approaching the ideal. Our own society is fluid and changing and we are not agreed as to the direction it should take, since we are not agreed as to the goal. Certainly, our social standard will determine our educational aims, unless we blindly follow tradition or custom, in which case we have no aims.

When one says that education should be socialized, that it should aim at social efficiency, instead of saying anything meaningful, he has merely covered up, by high-sounding but vague phrases, a host of problems. A theory of educational aims must follow from a social philosophy. An educational creed is the consequence of a social creed. What social creed then is to govern our educational practice? We have in creed, and in part in practice, in these United States, a social philosophy of education. In brief it is this: *Equal educational*

opportunity should be freely open to all the children. This is democracy in education and it is the all-inclusive creed of educational democracy. But we are far from carrying it out in practice. Actually, the children of the wealthy have better educational opportunities than the children of the moderately well off, and far better than the children of the poor. Actually children in cities have better educational opportunities than children in the rural districts. Owing to our local control, the educational opportunities vary much from state to state; for example, from California to Alabama and Mississippi. But, waiving the problems involved in greater equalization of educational opportunity, which are problems of administration, finance, and standards for teachers, let us suppose that we have solved these problems and have arrived or nearly arrived at equality of educational opportunity the country over. Then this question would still remain—what type of society are we aiming at through our public education, what educational values determine our practice? What is the ultimate goal of this great system of equal educational opportunity? The answers to this question are divergent, when they are clearly given. More often they are not given. The public and educators themselves are, to a large extent, unaware of what they are really aiming at in education.

Is education to be directed mainly to make efficient producers and vendors of material goods—of food, clothing, buildings, motor cars, means of amusement, and sensuous luxuries that can be shared by all? In brief, is education to aim at equipping the young to

make money in order that they may become just mediocre members of a social order with materialistic common standards? Or, is education to aim at enabling the young to lead as rich and full lives in as rich, full, vital, and abounding a community life as possible? Is education to reflect simply the mediocre mass standards of a thoroughly mechanized and vulgar society, whose ruling aims are equality in opportunity for sensuous enjoyments?

I am not here discussing vocational education. I assume that the primary aim of education is the liberation and organization of the powers of the individual for a useful and satisfying life as a member of a community. Liberal education means simply that education which liberates, for use and enjoyment, our potential capacities. It means the education which enables us to get hold of, to develop, and to use the human powers that constitute our potentialities. Liberal education is thus the precondition and accompaniment of vocational education. We cannot develop these special aptitudes, which make us useful and happy in a vocation, until we have found out what they are. And to find out what our special aptitudes are is part of the business of a general and liberal education. Moreover, we are to exercise our special aptitudes, "to mind our own business," "to do our bits," as Plato said, in a democratic society. Which means that we cannot do our bits except in coöperation, with a common understanding and conviction as to the values and purposes of associated human life in its entirety. It is the function of liberal education to

enable us to learn what are these common interests and purposes, which are basic to both the community life and the individual life, since the individual can realize the good life only in the good community and the good community is a community of good individuals.

The type of socialization at which we should aim is one in which, while each pulls his own weight, all individuals shall progressively achieve and enjoy the full harmonious activity of their personalities. The words "individuality" and "personality" are used in several senses. Let us take "individuality," as an educational ideal, to express the full and harmonious exercise of the powers or interests of each individual. Let us take "personality" to express the principle that true individuality can be achieved and lived only in a community of individuals who are like-minded, in that all share in the common purpose of realizing in fellowship their full individualities, as cooperating members of the community. Then we may say that personality means individuality that is consciously loyal to its social obligations. Then we may describe the ideal as socialized individuality or personality. Now what type of social ideal does this imply? In what respects would our ideal society differ from our actual American society?

In the first place it would be a community in which the profit motive did not dominate. Money would not be the supreme standard of social value, the chief instrument of power, the shining symbol of success, the one measure of the worth of services. No longer would science, literature, the fine arts, even character and personality themselves, be subordinated to pecuniary gain, to material aims. The social value of an individual would be rated in terms of his contribution to a many-sided, full, community life. The singer, painter, poet, sculptor, scholar, scientific discoverer—in sum, the creators and purveyors of all spiritual goods—would be rated as indispensable servants of society. There would be no relentless pressure, as there is now, to rate everything in terms of profit. In our ideal society every impulse towards artistic expression, every activity that contributed to enrich man's æsthetic and intellectual joys, to promote fellowship in the common striving for the fair and good, would be honored and would find adequate expression.

Above all, it would be a society in which each member's individuality would be sacred. Thoughtfulness and independence of mind would be respected. It would involve the mutual toleration of differences in points of view as essential. The central principle of all genuine education is self-education. Books, laboratories, instruction, are instruments to enable the individual to build up, by active thinking, or intelligent doing, his own world. This is a process which never ends and therefore education never ends. The individual is to take the results of the experiences and activities of his forbears, the social heritage of culture, and use as much of this as he can to form an adequate working world-picture and life-plan—a world-view.

A world-view has two sides—there are two realms in one. There is *one's view of nature*: of the processes, laws, uses, values, dangers, possibilities, and limits of the physical or material order and the subhuman vital

orders of plants and animals. And there is the human realm, the world of human relationships, the realm of conflict and coöperation, of misunderstanding and sympathy, of mistrust and fellowship, of hate and love. Our pictures of these two worlds are not entirely independent of one another. What we know in regard to nature and what we can do with nature, what we can escape, conquer, and achieve—are dependent upon the social order built up in the history of civilization. Social stability, security, justice, cooperation over greater areas and longer periods of social life, have been the indispensable conditions for man's growing understanding and control of nature. A primitive family, even a clan or a tribe, could do but little with nature, because its social heritage of culture was so poor and uncertain. The maintenance, the improvement and extension of social order have been the precurrent conditions of man's mastery over nature, though the progress of science and its applications may defeat and destroy the very social order from which it emerged; unless, through equalization of opportunity, the effective recognition of the supreme value of personality, of intellectual and spiritual growth in freedom and fellowship, the increasing mastery over nature can be made the tool for a full, richer, more human life.

Quite high civilizations have perished in the past. This may happen again. It can only be prevented by education based on the central value of the sacredness of personality, with its corollary of intellectual freedom, tolerance, and friendly coöperation.

It is not necessary to consider the question how this

more ideal society may be inaugurated. It will be the product of gradual evolution. I believe an approximation to it can come only through education for it: only in so far as education is deliberately directed towards the realization of a more ideal society. In the ideal society every member would perform some socially valuable service. No one who was able to work would be allowed to live in and enjoy the benefits of the society without exercising a worth while social function. There would be no place for parasites, drones, and loafers. No one, for example, would be permitted to live in idleness because his father or more remote ancestor, whether by merit, chance, or dishonest practices, had acquired wealth. Inheritance taxes would be high and, even in the case of the inheritance allowed, this would be forfeited if the individual performed no social function with it. The conception of social function would be a liberal one. It would include not merely industrial, economic, judicial, legislative, administrative, and educational services. The work of research and creative work in music, painting, sculpture, poetry, prose, the sciences, would be regarded as most important forms of social service. Of course, not every one aspiring to be a poet, a prose writer, a painter, scientist, or philosopher would be accepted and excused from rendering other services. Such a one would have to prove his competence by writing, teaching, or other service relative to his own creative ambition.

The determining power of the valuations of life—the standards of achievement, ideas of success and

satisfaction, of what goods are really worth striving for-dominant in a given society is tremendous. The individual personality is the resultant of social determinism plus whatever energy of resistance and creativeness the individual may natively possess. we are considering only the determining influence of the social soil and atmosphere in which the individual grows and lives. I call this whole social complex a "social culture." The culture of the individual is a product of the social culture. The centrally significant feature of social history is this-there are all sorts of variations in the nutritional contents of the social culture-complexes, in which individuals live and move and have their being. There are ebbs and flows, tides and seasons, storms and calms in the life histories of the total culture-complexes and their constituent parts. These parts are social organizations (family, tribe, city, nation, church, industrial and economic organizations), mores (manners and morals), laws, arts, sciences, religions. Running through all these, in a given society, is the dominating ideal or ideals of life—what is worth seeking? The social culture-complex is the soul of which civilization is the body. What makes a people, or an epoch, in civilization is its total culture. A social culture is thus a vast, complex, and ruling system of attitudes and valuations in regard to all the main impulses, interests, and incidents of man's life. It dominates and circumscribes, as well as sustains, the individual. It shapes him while it nourishes him.

A social culture is the total organized complex, the system of attitudes and valuations, which prevail in a society. In short, the culture of a people is expressed in the controlling standards as to the relative values of the activities and satisfactions possible to man.

Let us suppose a visitor from Mars, who knew several types of social culture. How would he characterize our present culture? Somewhat as follows. At first blush he would say, "Obviously, what you Americans value most are mechanical appliances for comfort, rapid locomotion, and communication. You also set great store on bigness and growth. You are incessantly striving to make your towns, as well-as your business, grow larger. Your recreation seems to consist chiefly in attending picture shows, reading sensational magazines and journals, intensely playing various games, or rushing furiously about the country in motor cars. You are incessantly making laws and breaking them. I note that you have forty-nine busy official law factories. You seem to value education highly, since your children all go to school and a great many of them go to college. You erect fine buildings for your schools. I am especially impressed by your provisions for athletic sports. But evidently you do not value the teachers' quality very highly and you cannot expect to get much more than your own valuation. You evidently think that it is not a teacher's business to get his pupils to think hard, either creatively or critically. If the teacher thinks for himself, he must keep his thinking to himself. You do not recognize that teaching is a high and arduous vocation—one that requires exceptional native mental gifts and long training to enter upon; and spiritual and social freedom, self-respect and the respect of others to continue in.

"I am amazed to observe that your children are taught mostly by young girls, with a few young men and a minute sprinkling of experienced older teachers. I am told that forty-five per cent of your teachers are under twenty-five years of age, that twenty-five per cent have had only two years' training beyond high school and that the majority of your teachers remain in the service only five years. I have learned that, in the period from 1890 to 1920, the proportion of men teachers in your schools decreased from one in three to one in seven, whereas in the British Empire the proportion is from $33\frac{1}{3}$ to 40 per cent and still higher in France and Germany. Is it not significant that, whereas the average yearly income in your country in 1926 was \$2,010, and the average yearly earnings of trade-union members was \$2,502, the average salary of teachers, principals, and superintendents of public schools was \$1,275? The average salary of school teachers for your country in 1925 was \$1,252; in one of your states the average teacher's salary was \$448.

"I observe, too, that your teachers are subject to petty criticism and interferences in their social life. Worse than this, I observe a lack of respect for the spiritual individuality of teachers and scholars. You seem to regard teachers as placed to be sounding boards for the propagation of your own individual, class, and clique prejudices and interests. One of your foremost philosophers has said that everything possible is being

done to make of the teacher a servile rubber stamp, that what is wanted seems to be a colorless intellectual conformity and docility, and that vigorous many-sided personalities are unwelcome. I learn, moreover, that the teachers are not allowed a responsible part in the government of the schools and colleges. You seem to think that the autocratic managerial system, which you have tried, and now are doubtful about in industry is just the thing for the schools and colleges. You elect a school board to hire a director, called a 'superintendent' or 'principal,' to hire and boss his subordinates. In many cases the indispensable qualifications for a teacher's position appear to be that he or she shall obey orders from the boss higher up."

Our visitor from Mars might add: "My conception of a democratic culture is quite different. I hold that, if teachers are to be the spirited, eager, questing, openminded, and energetic leaders of childhood and youth into the full possession and command of their own precious spirits, if the pupils are to be quickened and nourished into self-directing individualities, through the active assimilation of so much of humanity's cultural heritage as they can use, the teachers must themselves be able, highly cultivated, and dynamic personalities. Their knowledge and their characters must be exceptional. They cannot be all this unless a high social valuation be placed on their work—unless a status second to none in the community be given them. means that they shall be exceptional persons. must have spiritual and social freedom, self-government, and the power of initiative in their work. And, on the other hand, they must be able to measure up to their responsibilities.

"I do not think you will get the kind of teachers who will lay the foundations of a progressive and vigorous culture, simply by giving good living salaries. Indeed, with higher salaries alone, you will increase the chances of intellectual asininities and humbugs, moral hypocrites, grafters and timeservers going into teaching; if you do not remove the control of the schools entirely from politics and put them in the hands of competent and honest educational experts. You must offer a higher social regard, a better status, pay more respect in freedom and self-government. Then you can demand a higher quality of trained personality in the spiritual guides of your children."

To which animadversions on his national educational policy, an average intelligent American would doubtless respond, "Teachers are, it is true, inferior in personal qualities—in energy, initiative, and brains to business men, managers, and superintendents and foremen; inferior even to good salesmen. Teachers are chiefly of two classes: (1) those who use teaching as a stepping stone to more highly esteemed and rewarded careers and (2) the left-overs, who remain in the teaching occupation because they have not the push and intelligence to get out. If then, we give them higher wages, we shall be paying them more than their services are worth. Some of them are now overpaid. If we give them greater self-government, they will use it to justify their own pettiness, mental inertia, and timid pedantry. We shall then make no educational progress. Moreover, teachers, as a class, are lacking in a hard-headed appreciation of the cold facts of the economic world. They are not hard-boiled enough. They are tempted to become parlor reds, mild-mannered radicals, and sentimental socialists. Only their own timidity and the insecurity of their positions, knowing that the side their bread is buttered on is a wholesome respect for the present order in which business and politics are supreme, keep them in their proper places. We hire teachers to bring our children up to be satisfied with the existing order, in which their fathers have made their living and achieved influence."

To which our Martian visitor's rejoinder might be: "Your position is sound, if the supreme purpose of education be to maintain, at the least possible expense, the mental inertia of your children, to stultify their minds and prevent their thinking, to arrest their individualities—in short to sacrifice everything else to the preservation of the existing state of affairs, its corruption and criminality as well as its good features. But if you really believe in intelligence, in creative thinking, in the individuality of the soul, if you really wish your children to realize to the full their possibilities (and the power of independent thinking is the most genuinely human capacity) you are taking exactly the wrong course.

"You cannot get teachers with dynamic individuality and the training necessary, unless you make the calling one of greater social esteem and stability; marked by good economic standards, scope for initiative and self-respect, in short, freedom of teaching and greater self-government.

"You cannot achieve these ends merely by raising salaries. You must put your personnel standard higher. If you make the teacher's calling a more highly esteemed and stable vocation, you will then draw into it and retain individuals of more initial dynamic and thorough training." ¹

The plain truth is that there is too little respect in America, taken as a whole, for fineness, distinction, and individuality in either teaching, writing, producing works of art or of research scholarship; except, perhaps, in the physical sciences, and the exception is due to the belief that researches in the physical sciences can be turned to pecuniary profit.

So far as the teacher or writer runs counter to popular partisan prejudices or to the supposed interests of the influential groups, in social criticism or theory (and above all where dollars are involved), religion, or politics, he must expect trouble. If the creative artist tries, in the arts of literature or painting or sculpture, to do distinguished work, he may look for indifference and perhaps starvation. Even our best magazines are standardized and conventionalized to fit the mores of the middle and upper classes in our economically stratified society.

It may be that only a minority of the young have sufficiently marked individualities ever to do anything

¹ As I write this, the administration of the schools of one of our largest cities is being disrupted by shrewd political buffoons in order that it may be a good hunting preserve for political grafters by providing jobs for their henchmen and henchwomen.

creative, under the most favorable conditions. But, certainly, a fair experiment in creative nurture for creative thinking has not yet been made. When we compare our poverty of production in art, pure science, and scholarship, with other countries sharing the same general inheritance of culture and consider our energy and achievements in the production and distribution of material goods, it becomes clear that the dominant economic materialism of American society is responsible for its intellectual, æsthetic, and spiritual poverty.

Our civilization grows materially richer apace. The comforts and conveniences of physical existence become more accessible and widespread. For many this is the highest good-to make accessible to all the instruments of material well-being, of rapid motion and lightning-like communication, regardless of whether we are moving anywhere or communicating anything worth hearing. Our equipment and use of material tools, in houses, workshops, factories, stores, transportation, and communication, arouse the wonder of the European visitor. But, when it comes to our intellectual, æsthetic, spiritual achievements, we do not evoke so much admiration. With all our galleries and art schools how much good art do we produce? Even more povertystricken are our outputs in poetry and good prose. In research scholarship, how meager the results, notwithstanding hundreds of universities and colleges, many thousands of teachers and a million college students. And we will never improve our spiritual culture until we break away from our deadening time-clock standards, until we express, in our ideals and demands, and our social provisions, our respect for intellectual honesty and spiritual independence; for *spiritual indi*viduality in the work of student and teacher.

The one unifying principle, that runs through our present educational scheme and gives coherence to its heterogeneous and otherwise disjointed activities, is the credit unit system. From the grade school to the graduate school, student achievement is rated in terms of hours spent doing courses, not in terms of having worked themselves into a significant major subject; not in terms of having absorbed and assimilated some principal field of human learning, so that they can handle its data, concepts, and methods.

There is no principle of coherence or continuity, other than the time-clock basis of credit units, in our educational system. Even where we have "majors" and "minors," in undergraduate and graduate work, the results are estimated in terms of number of hours in the various subjects. As a consequence, partly at least, of this external and mechanical way of dealing with the mental growth of living young souls, we see faculties everlastingly tinkering with rules. The pedantic elaboration of rules, as instruments for insuring education, is on a par with the multiplication of laws as the means of securing order and justice. We try all sorts of devices to get students to take more interest in their studies than in extra-curriculum activities; except the simple device of putting them "on their own" and giving them sustained pieces of work to do, into which they can put some initiative and continuous activity. What, then, are the remedies? Are

there any? Or does democracy in education mean hopeless irremediable commitment to sloppiness, choppiness, superficiality, a low mediocrity? I hope not. I believe not. There is no hope, however, so long as the present mechanistic superstition continues in force. So long as we proceed upon the assumption that systems of credits, standards, courses, methods, and techniques are synthetic substitutes for energy, ability, and scholarship in our teachers and students, we shall not improve. Indeed, we shall make things worse. We are moving towards an ever more intricate and cumbersome system of educational machinery, offered as the sufficient substitute for mental energy and creativeness. What we need are vigorous, scholarly, free, and self-respecting teachers and the scrapping of most of our machinery and nearly all our rules.

The only genuine education comes from the individual working at something he is interested in and makes progress at. The causes why the performances of American schools fall so short of their promises are several. I give what seem the most important: (1) Local initiative and control, while of great value in arousing an active interest in the cause of education in the community and giving scope for local leadership, thus enabling a high quality where leadership is able and successful, on the other hand involves low standards of teachers and work, where there is little knowledge or vision in the local community. In the pioneering stage, knowledge and vision were often very meager. No one in the community had much education or any conception of high standards. Even where the desire

was eager and effective, there was often eagerness without light. (2) Agricultural rural communities had simple and meager standards of living. Teaching was a "genteel" occupation for young women and youths using it as a stepping stone to more remunerative and influential vocations, a convenient stop-gap. Only those deficient in energy and ambition remained in it. Educational work is not even yet considered a man's job. (3) Upon the pioneer stage there supervened, with a speed unparalleled elsewhere, the enormous development of industrialism and the corresponding increase in national wealth. But the wealth has been used chiefly to enhance the material side of human existence. The syndication of journalism, literature, amusements, has worked against the recognition of qualitative distinction in our cultural life, for distinction is always the expression of ripe individuality, never the product of a syndicate.

Every well-established, closely knit type of social tissue involves some clashes between individuality and the dominant standards, the mores, customs, prevailing values of the group organization. The points of strain and conflict vary with the social type and with the bent of the individual. What is social good form, what is approved, depends on the prevailing social patterns. In Italy of the Renaissance there was free scope and warm appreciation for art and letters. In England, Holland, France, from the Renaissance to the nine-teenth century the development of individual liberty began in the intellectual and religious fields and there followed soon political liberty and increasing self-

government. In Western Europe there is freer scope and approval for intellectual individuality, for freedom of inquiry and teaching, more social approval for scholarship, independence, originality in science, letters, social criticism than in America.

Our dominant type of mores sets the stamp of approval and reward on all activities and achievements that make for the production and distribution of material goods and, in writing, publishing, and teaching, upon these things that cater to the appetites of the populace. In the past, culture has been mainly plutoaristocratic, because the social order has been plutoaristocratic. The great majority, from birth, have been shut out from the possibility of cultivating their powers. A democratic culture simply means a social order in which all have the opportunity to realize and enjoy their natural powers and aptitudes, to satisfy their normal human interests.

There is no inherent incompatibility between democracy and culture. In a democratic culture it is true that the most highly cultivated, not being a very few, will not stand out sharply from the mass. But it does not follow that the peaks will not be as high because they are relatively more numerous. An isolated high mountain looks higher than many in a great range which may be all just as high or even higher.

Our democracy has not yet attained a high culture, because it takes time and leisure and hence costs high in money and concerted social effort. The growth of democratic culture has been hindered by the supremacy of economic interests and values and the fiercely in-

dividualistic struggle for power. A really democratic culture can only come with a nearer approach to economic equality. Our culture has been and still is mainly plutocratic, because leisure and opportunity are still only the possession of the minority. There cannot be much culture without leisure and there cannot be leisure without the accumulation of capital. For capital means the accumulation of a surplus of goods and, hence, of human time and human energy over and above those necessary to maintain existence. Thus, in order that there may be a considerable culture in a country, it must have economic capital or wealth. But if this wealth be in control of a few and used by them chiefly to achieve further wealth, there can be no close approach to a democratic culture. A genuinely democratic culture is possible, only when, whatever be the distribution of legal ownership, a considerable proportion of the material wealth of the country is employed to enable the young to have good educational opportunities. This means, not merely good schools all over the land, but ability of the young to profit by them. Such ability is absent when the young cannot be fed, clothed, and sent to school. A democratic culture also implies that adult workers have a margin of time and means, beyond subsistence, to continue the work of self-cultivation. It is not necessary that there be any radical readjustment of our economic life, in the form, say, of complete state socialism, in order that the democratic ideal of culture shall have a better chance at realization. Assuming the minimum income necessary for the health and physical efficiency of youth,

what is needed is that state aid shall be given more generously to the schools in the poorer districts, to enable them to provide a higher grade of teaching personnel. More than this, the state-supported institutions of education should provide scholarships, furnishing free tuition and books and living arrangements at cost, or free if necessary, for those unable to pay and who by thorough tests demonstrate their ability to profit by education.

CHAPTER IV

MASS STANDARDS, CULTURE, AND INDIVIDUALITY

There are three causes which together make powerfully for mental standardization. These are:

- I. The strong natural susceptibility of the human individual to the suggestions of his fellows—the instinct or native propensity known as *suggestibility* or *imitativeness*. This instinct operates powerfully in all human societies—more powerfully the more primitive the prevailing type of mentality. With the increase in size of our urban crowds, we tend more strongly towards the crowd mind. It requires considerable effort for the ordinary person to hold out against the opinions and actions of the crowd, or of those who have social prestige and power. The ability to do so is the unfailing mark of mental integrity and energy. The tendency of every group, as soon as formed, even of a crowd, is to intimidate the individual.
- 2. The machine character of our present civilization. We have carried out mass production and distribution to an extent never before dreamed of, not even as recently as a century ago. Mechanical contrivances of all sorts not only provide greater comforts, locomotion, and communication; but, as well, music, lectures, picture-dramas and news. One can get almost anything "canned" and distributed over

the wide world to-day—from instrumental music and song to a lecture on physics or philosophy. Thus it has come to pass that our intellectual and æsthetic foods are more and more canned stuffs, which the consumer has nothing to do with but passively to eat up. (Canned foods often produce digestive disorders.) The individual can pass his leisure hours, in any fashion that sufficiently pleases the populace to be profitably produced in quantity, with a minimum of mental effort. Neither the phonograph nor the radio, the movie nor the automobile are conducive to mental effort or reflectiveness.

3. In earlier ages, as still over a large part of the world, the majority of the people were inarticulate. The styles of conduct and belief were set for them by tradition and the governing class. Not so in the United States to-day. Almost everybody here can afford the popular means of locomotion and amusement, as well as of instruction. Here are more than one hundred million people, the vast majority of whom can have phonographs or even radios, can attend the movies and ride in automobiles.

We are an extraordinarily prosperous, machine-using democracy. We have no widely recognized intellectual or cultural standards, except those of the crowd and the hour. Every one can go to school. Almost any one can go to college. We are endeavoring to enable, and we are succeeding pretty well in enabling, all the people to lead physically comfortable and sensuously enjoyable lives. All our standards are those of the mass. So we have mass education, mass amusements,

art for the mass, and the rule of mass emotions and mass beliefs.

The assumption, commonly made, that more than a minority of human beings have any disinterested passion for either truth, justice, or liberty in general is not borne out by the facts. Most people want what they conceive to be liberty and justice for themselves. But few are concerned that strangers be accorded these social boons (there have been no great popular protests against the gross violations of liberty and justice during and since the great war).

True love for liberty means that I shall be as much concerned that the other man have liberty to express a different opinion from mine, as that I have it. Most people are content to get as good a living as possible as respectable members of society and to let it go at that. The passion for impersonal justice is nearly as rare as the passion for truth.

Where the mass is so powerful in economic, political, and general social concerns as it is in America, and where it is so unconcerned for the unhampered expression of ideas, or the quest for truth through the free play of differing thinkers, mental standardization is bound to obtain to a preponderating degree. Education, no less than current social opinion and practice, reflects a mental standardization in terms of the lowest common mental denominator of the mass. Some common measure is necessary for the maintenance of social order. The trouble is that the measure does not rise very much, if it indeed rises at all. Perhaps it is falling.

We have by far the largest proportion of university students of any country in the Western World. The proportion is steadily increasing. But there are two discounts to be made of our increasing numbers of collegians: (1) The small proportion of college students whose minds are really set on fire by the university spirit and who become mentally independent and remain so in the face of the inertia of the mass of older persons. (2) The small proportion of teachers in our schools and perhaps even the minority of college teachers, who achieve and maintain any mental independence and initiative. The majority follow the current fashions in opinion.

We have been very successful in standardizing machine production, but the standardizing of the human mind means mental and spiritual stagnation and death. What is it that our various propagandists, klu-kluxers, fundamentalists, anti-evolutionists, one hundred percenters, and all of that genus are trying to do? Is it not to dry up the springs of spiritual individuality at their very sources? Is it not to turn us into a flock of sheep of which they shall be the bellwethers? Is it not to mold every individual into a common unthinking pattern? We boast of our democracy, but we are in growing danger of being turned into a stereotyped moronocracy. The mentality of any crowd of average individuals is far below the mentalities of its individual members when taken separately.

The explanation of this standardized mediocrity is probably the following. There were no deep-rooted, thick, and vigorous cultures in the United States

before the Civil War. What cultures there were were first thinned out by pushing the frontiers westward; then further diluted by the immense stream of heterogeneous immigrants that poured in. The land was being occupied in pioneering fashion. Industry developed apace in the machine age, without strong traditions of homogeneous culture, without leaders, without a homogeneous racial background, with the increasing rush towards material well-being by both native and immigrant. Our earlier distinctive cultures in New England, the Middle States, and the old South were swamped. The chief restraint upon the unfettered dominance of machinery and Mammon was Puritan religiosity and this was not enough. There has been no effective tradition of intellectual liberty and creativeness, none of æsthetic creativeness, no feeling of the joys of either sensuous beauty or intellectual contemplation. Thus it has come to pass that, taken as a whole, we regard highly only those powers which result either in marked industrial and financial achievement or in winning the crowd. Only "popular," that is, commonplace and mediocre work in the arts, letters, sciences, and education, command general respect. We do not know and we seem not to care what thoroughness and independence in the intellectual sphere mean. We do not want teachers who are genuine scholars. We have no use for them, except a certain contemptuous sufferance. We do not know what the word "scholar" means. The vast majority of us identify "scholar" with "pupil"; "scientist" with "inventor" of machinery.

A richer social culture can be brought into being only when, in school and college, stress is put upon the continuous activity of the individual, encouraging and prodding him to think for himself, to do his own work.

It is certainly a paradox that a democracy, whose fundamental urge should be the liberation of the powers of all individuals for the freest possible self-development, that is compatible with the maintenance of the necessary minimum of social order, has eventuated in a loss of respect for individuality; in the hampering of its scope by the increasing power of mass prejudice, intimidation, and regimentation.

It seems even more paradoxical that the United States, cradled in the individualism of eighteenth-century social philosophy, which found its fullest expression in Jeffersonian democracy, with its emphasis on liberty, its profound distrust of government and its insistence on the right of rebellion, should have become, mentally, the most standardized country in the whole area of Western Civilization. But so it is. Let us consider the problem of this paradox.

Liberty seems to be dying out among us. America, says a penetrating Frenchman, M. André Siegfried, has exchanged liberty for prosperity. He says American civilization is being "fordized." The fundamental principle of "fordization" is the entire subordination of the individual to standardized mass production. "In America, the dominant force that is threatening to carry everything before it—Protestant, Catholic, and Jew—is the obsession for tangible and material accom-

plishment." 1 "In its pursuit of wealth and power, America has abandoned the idea of liberty to follow that of prosperity." 2 "The mysticism of success is perhaps their genuine religion and with it is combined a somewhat guileless optimism." 3 "It is a strictly utilitarian outlook, but it satisfies the naïve idealism of the nation. It has been personified in the immortal Babbitt, the rotarian, who believed with all his soul that he was saving humanity by lining his pockets with comfortable dollars." 4

M. Siegfried then proceeds to the conclusion that American civilization is not a further development of European civilization. It is a new creation. In Europe the individual is still regarded as an independent ego, with value in himself. The realization of a satisfying, rich, individual experience of knowledge, beauty, and joy, by free and disinterested thought and activity, is still the central ideal. In America the controlling ideal is efficiency in production, aiming at the greatest amount of material comfort and luxury for the greatest number of people. Europe values the individual spirit, the personality, whereas in America the individual is merely a means of production.⁵

This is an exaggeration of our spiritual condition. The writer has not taken sufficient account of the genuine striving for education and culture, often naïve and misguided, which is characteristic of so

¹ André Siegfried, America Comes of Age, p. 53.

² Ibid., p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., "Conclusion," pp. 334-343.

many communities; especially of small towns with and without colleges. Nor has he given enough weight to the growth of colleges and universities not merely in size, but in cultural achievements and promise. I do not believe that our colleges were ever before in so vigorous and progressive a state. But there is uncomfortably much truth in his characterization. Individuality in thought and expression; sincerity, courage, independence of mind and action, seem to count for less and less amongst us. We are more and more ruled by the crowd mind and by economic motives, by organization, slogans, stereotyped phrases. Our political life is lacking in strong individualities. So is our educational and cultural life. The slimy trail of the serpent Mammon pollutes and poisons our whole civilization.

Everywhere one finds cities, towns, and villages growing more and more alike, amidst diverse physical surroundings; from Maine to California and from North Dakota to Florida. Everywhere the same boosting of business and population growth. Everywhere the same crude movies, the same type of sensational journalism, the same commercialized college sports, the same popular lectures—pseudo-literary, pseudo-scientific, pseudo-pseudo-psychological; the same freak religions; the same barbaric revivalism; everywhere the same furious lawmaking and law breaking. Everywhere "culture" is propagated by listening to platform spellbinders—"scientific" and "literary" quacks and mountebanks; and by reading entertaining "stories" of science, literature, art, and philosophy, through

which one becomes "cultured" by a few hours in an easy chair with one's feet on the fender.

I present, as a starting point for a consideration of the relation of individual culture to mass education and the crowd mind, two conceptions of culture that are complementary to one another—Matthew Arnold's and Ralph Waldo Emerson's.

"Culture," says Arnold, "is a study of perfection, and of harmonious perfection, general perfection, and perfection which consists in becoming something rather than in having something, in an inward condition of the mind and spirit, not in an outward set of circumstances." He says further that the function of culture "is particularly important in our modern world, of which the whole civilization is, to a much greater degree than the civilization of Greece and Rome, mechanical and external, and tends constantly to become more so. . . .

"Faith in machinery is, I said, our besetting danger; often in machinery most absurdly disproportioned to the end which this machinery, if it is to do any good at all, is to serve; but always in machinery, as if it had a value in and for itself. What is freedom but machinery? What is population but machinery? What is coal but machinery? What are railroads but machinery? What is wealth but machinery? What are, even, religious organizations but machinery? Now almost every voice in England is accustomed to speak of these things as if they were precious ends in themselves, and therefore had some of the characters of perfection indisputably joined to them. [These state-

ments are even more pertinent to the United States today.]... But culture indefatigably tries, not to make what each raw person may like the rule by which he fashions himself; but to draw ever nearer to a sense of what is indeed beautiful, graceful, and becoming, and to get the raw person to like that...

"Plenty of people will try to give the masses, as they call them, an intellectual food prepared and adapted in the way they think proper for the actual condition of the masses. The ordinary popular literature is an example of this way of working on the masses. Plenty of people will try to indoctrinate the masses with the set of ideas and judgments constituting the creed of their own profession or party. Our religious and political organizations give an example of this way of working on the masses. . . . Culture works differently. It does not try to teach down to the level of inferior classes; it does not try to win them for this or that sect of its own, with ready-made judgments and watchwords. It seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely -nourished and not bound by them. . . .

"The great men of culture are those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time; who have laboured to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive; to humanize

it, to make it efficient outside any clique of the cultured and learned, yet still remaining the *best* knowledge and thought of the time, and a true source, therefore, of sweetness and light. . . .

"They humanized knowledge; . . . they broadened the basis of life and intelligence." 6

Emerson says: "I have no expectation that any man will read history aright who thinks that what was done in a remote age, by men whose names have resounded far, has any deeper sense than what he is doing to-day. . . .

"All inquiry into antiquity . . . is the desire to do away with this wild, savage, and preposterous There or Then, and introduce in its place the Here and the Now." (Emerson, "History")

"Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string." "The power which resides in him [each man] is new in nature, and none but he knows what that is which he can do, nor does he know until he has tried. . . . A man is relieved and gay when he has put his heart into his work and done his best; but what he has said or done otherwise shall give him no peace." ("Self-Reliance")

"What a man does, that he has. What has he to do with hope or fear? In himself is his might. . . . He may see what he maketh. Our dreams are the sequel of our waking knowledge. . . . He may read what he writes. What can we see or acquire, but what we are? You have seen a skillful man reading Virgil. Well, that author is a thousand books to a thousand persons.

⁶ Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, Chap. I.

Take the book into your two hands, and read your eyes out; you will never find what I find. . . . The same reality pervades all teaching. The man may teach by doing, and not otherwise. If he can communicate himself he can teach, but not by words. . . . He that writes to himself writes to an eternal public." ("Spiritual Laws")

"The one thing in the world, of value is the active soul. This every man is entitled to; this every man contains within him, although, in almost all men, obstructed, and as yet unborn."... "One must be an inventor to read well. As the proverb says, 'He that would bring home the wealth of the Indies, must carry out the wealth of the Indies.' There is then creative reading, as well as creative writing. When the mind is braced by labor and invention, the page of whatever book we read becomes luminous with manifold allusion." "In self-trust all the virtues are comprehended." "Thinking is the function. Living is the functionary. The stream retreats to its source. A great soul will be strong to live, as well as to think."...

"The preamble of thought, the transition through which it passes from the unconscious to the conscious, is action. Only so much do I know, as I have lived. . . . So much only of life as I know by experience, so much of the wilderness have I vanquished and planted, or so far have I extended my being, my dominion. . . . The main enterprise of the world for splendor, for extent, is the upbuilding of a man. Here are the materials strewn along the ground. The pri-

vate life of one man shall be a more illustrious monarchy, more formidable to its enemy, more sweet and serene in its influence to its friend, than any kingdom in history. . . . The world is nothing, the man is all; in yourself is the law of all nature, and you know not yet how a globule of sap ascends; in yourself slumbers the whole of Reason; it is for you to know all, it is for you to dare all." ("The American Scholar")

Culture, for Emerson, is the means by which a man is liberated from his narrow self-centered egotism. Individuality is the basis of culture. "Every valuable nature is there in its right, and the student we speak to must have a mother wit invincible by his culture, which uses all books, arts, facilities, and elegancies of intercourse, but is never subdued and lost in them. He only is a well-made man who has a good determination. And the end of culture is not to destroy this. God forbid! but to train away all impediment and mixture, and leave nothing but pure power. . . . Culture is the suggestion from certain best thoughts, that a man has a range of affinities, through which he can modulate, the violence of any master tones that have a droning preponderance in his scale, and succor him against himself. Culture redresses his balance, puts him among his equals and superiors, revives the delicious sense of sympathy, and warns him of the dangers of solitude and repulsion." ("Culture")

Emerson, in this essay and elsewhere, places great emphasis, indeed insists on games and sports; skill in dancing, dress, music, conversation, social intercourse, the intermingling of social life and solitude; as all being elements of culture not less than books. Culture leads from bookish egotism to rational independence and freedom.

"The fossil strata show us that Nature began with rudimental forms, and rose to the more complex, as fast as the earth was fit for their dwelling place; and that the lower perish, as the higher appear. Very few of our race can be said to be yet finished men. We still carry sticking with us some of the remains of the preceding inferior quadruped organization. We call these millions men; but they are not yet men. Half engaged in the soil, pawing to get free, man needs all the music that can be brought to disengage him. If Love, red Love, with tears and joy; if Want with his scourge; if War with his cannonade; if Christianity with his charity; if Trade with its money; if Art with its portfolios; if Science with her telegraphs through the deeps of space and time; can set his dull nerves throbbing, and by loud taps on the rough chrysalis, can break its walls, and let the new creature emerge erect and free-make way, and sing pæan! The age of the quadruped is to go outthe age of the brain and the heart is to come in. The time will come when the evil forms we have known can be no more organized. Man's culture can spare nothing, wants all the material. He is to convert all impediments into instruments, all enemies into power. The formidable mischief will only make the more useful slave. And if one shall read the future of the race hinted in the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate and the corresponding impulse to the Better in the human being, we shall dare affirm that there is

nothing he will not overcome and convert, until at last culture shall absorb the chaos and gehenna. He will convert the Furies into Muses, and the hells into benefits." ("Culture")

All genuine social progress depends on the development of thoughtful self-directing individuals. A crowd never thinks, a party never thinks. All thinking is done by individuals. The more mentally independent and courageous individuals we have, the better will our community be. It is said that there is a dearth amongst us of good leaders. Is not that because there is a dearth of intelligent, tolerant followers? Emerson, with his emphasis on self-reliance, voiced the genuine American spirit. His whole message palpitates with the appeal to his fellow citizens to be mentally and spiritually self-reliant. He says, "Trust thyself! Every heart vibrates to that iron string."... "Let us stem and astonish the intruding rabble of men and books, and institutions, by a simple declaration of the divine fact. Bid the invaders take the shoes from off their feet, for God is here within."

He says that the duties and the virtues of the scholar may all be summed up in self-trust. The scholar "is one who raises himself from private considerations and breathes and lives on public and illustrious thoughts. He is the world's eye. He is the world's heart. He is to resist the vulgar prosperity that retrogrades ever to barbarism, by preserving and communicating heroic sentiments, noble biographies, melodious verse, and the conclusions of history. Whatsoever oracles the human heart, in all emergencies, in all solemn hours, has ut-

tered as its commentary on the world of actions, these he shall hear and promulgate.

"These being his functions, it becomes him to feel all confidence in himself, and to defer never to the popular cry. He and he only knows the world. The world of any moment is the merest appearance. Some great decorum, some fetish of a government, some ephemeral trade, or war, or man, is cried up by half mankind and cried down by the other half, as if all depended on this particular up and down. The odds are that the whole question is not worth the poorest thought which the scholar has lost in listening to the controversy. Let him not quit his belief that a popgun is a popgun, though the ancient and honorable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom.

"Free should the scholar be—free and brave. Free . . . 'without any hindrance that does not arise out of his own constitution.' Brave; for fear is a thing which a scholar by his very function puts behind him. Fear always springs from ignorance. . . . The world is his who can see through its pretension. . . . In proportion as a man has anything in him divine, the firmament flows before him and takes his signet and form. Not he is great who can alter matter, but he who can alter my state of mind. . . . The great man makes the great thing."

The scholar, said Emerson truly, is Man Thinking, with faith in the power of thought. The duty of the scholar is to let the light of intelligence play freely around and through all problems—all economic and political and other social problems, no less than all

problems of natural science and industrial technique. The peculiar duty of the scholar is twofold—to use his own intelligence to the full and to fight with all his power for the rights of others to use their intelligences. Thinking, Reflective Enquiry, is an enterprise which each one must engage in and continue for himself. Each must stand on his own feet. It follows that each individual must respect the opinions of the others. He must believe in intellectual liberty, in freedom of enquiry, in freedom of teaching, in freedom of publication. He must not only avoid, but combat, all attempts to dragoon others by any sort of intimidation; whether of law and police force or of economic terrors or of mob violence. He must practice the good doctrine of "live and let live."

Emerson concludes: "The end of all political struggle is to establish morality as the basis of all legislation." "Tis not free institutions, 'tis not democracy that is the end—no, but only the means. Morality is the object of government." ("The Fortune of the Republic") "Culture implies all which gives the mind possession of its own powers. . . . The sublime point of experience is the value of a sufficient man. Cube this value by the meeting of two such—of two or more such—who understand and support each other, and you have organized victory. At any time, it only needs the contemporaneous appearance of a few superiors and attractive men to give a new and noble turn to the public mind. . . .

"The foundation of culture, as of character is at last the moral sentiment. This is the fountain of power, preserves its eternal newness, draws its own rent out of every novelty in science. Science corrects the old creeds; sweeps away, with every new perception, our infantile catechisms; and necessitates a faith commensurate with the grander orbits and universal laws which it discloses. Yet it does not surprise the moral sentiment. That was older, and awaited expectant these large insights.

"The affections are the wings by which the intellect launches on the void; and is borne across it." ("Progress of Culture")

In sum, the end of culture is the development of the individual into self-possession, self-direction of his powers for social ends. Culture is at once individual and social. For the cultivated individual is one who is aware of his immense indebtedness to the best that has been thought and done through the associated endeavors of countless men and generations. He knows that he would be but a poor, helpless, and naked savage were it not for the rich social heritage which enables him to realize and enjoy the comprehensive and harmonious exercise of his own powers. He will therefore use these powers not only to preserve, but, if possible, to improve, the cultural heritage of his people and of mankind through his own people.

The only remedy for mental montony, for mediocre standardization, is the development of the power of creative and critical thinking, of weighing and comparing differences—various data, various opinions, theories and beliefs. "An educated man is one whose judgment rests upon an adequate range of compari-

sons," said Chancellor Brown of New York University.

I have never seen a better definition of education. It implies several things: (r) that one is mentally active, judges for himself; thinks out things on his own hook; (2) that he compares, weighs and evaluates different opinions, theories, proposals; and (3) that he knows when he has not the materials for passing judgment and refrains from so doing. The fact is that teaching people to read is not teaching them to think. Reading may only addle their meager brains.

Education has changed. We have dropped Latin and Greek and eased up on Mathematics, subjects that required some thinking to get on in. We have added a greater variety of subjects-more English, more history, civics, biology-things good in themselves, but, unfortunately, things that the pupil can make a passable show at without doing much thinking. An education that will stimulate and feed the impulse to question, to reflect, to analyze and weigh dispassionately the pros and cons, to look at questions on all sides, to suspend judgment until the evidence warrants coming to a conclusion; and that will do all this in a publicminded way is what is needed. It must be an education which gives rein, with guidance, to every impulse to understand on the child's part. Instead of learning meaningless facts by rote, to be forgotten straightway, the child will be encouraged to discuss, to make researches, to present arguments, essays. This means not only collecting facts but probing them, turning them over, taking them apart to learn what they signify, how they are related. It means to let the light of the exploring intelligence play freely on all problems—on all historical, economic, political, and other social problems, no less than on all problems of natural science and the industrial arts.

It may be that only a small minority of our people are capable of sustained reflection, of any real thinking. Even so, our education is a failure if its effect is to dampen or suppress the impulse to reflect, to think critically, on the part of the few who are born with it. If it be true that, in our efforts to educate everybody equally, we are not only not helping but are actually hindering the intelligent minority from developing their powers, we are headed for social disaster. If it be true that the tendency of public education is to flatten down the exceptionally gifted child to the level of the mediocre child, what we are doing is to dry up the springs of intellectual and social leadership in a civilization the increasing complexity of which calls for strong leadership; and we are not making the mediocre mass fit even to be intelligent followers. What are the indispensable conditions for the increase of wise, socially minded power in education?

r. Our educational institutions must be completely freed from all forms of partisan control—political, economic, and ecclesiastical. In their conduct they must be free and responsible only to the ideals of good teaching. In their administration everything else must be subordinated to teaching. The teachers must be responsible primarily to the ethics, the ideals of their own profession. Teaching is the most indispensable

social ministry. Administration must be subordinated to ministration. The mental individualities of teachers must be respected and encouraged. They must not only be permitted, but encouraged, to think.

- 2. In order that teachers may be able to discharge these responsibilities in a responsible fashion, the profession must have increased social respect. This must be shown through security of tenure, good living wages, and self-government.
- 3. In every profession that commands high social regard and reward the standards rise. No one who considers the history of the medical and legal professions can doubt the truth of this. The ethics of the learned professions and of business have risen. I mean by the "ethics" the entire set of standards, not merely of honesty but of equipment and efficiency. This can only happen in the teaching profession when it becomes, what it hardly is now, a highly valued social ministry. When the standards of admission are so low, the membership so ephemeral, the turnover so great as they are in the teaching profession, what can we expect?
- 4. If our democracy is not to kill, by indifference and hindering regulations, higher education and research, our university scholars must do more to spread, in the populace, a knowledge of the results of modern science, including the historical and social sciences. Our great stores of knowledge are shut up too exclusively in libraries, the minds of specialists and classrooms.

The work of educating the mass into an appreciation

of the scientific spirit and into concern for intellectual liberty and independence is an enormous task—one which, at best, can be but partially successful. It can be carried forward only if those who know wage, in patience and faith, persistent warfare on behalf of freedom for the expression of thought on the part of teachers and writers. Freedom of the chair, freedom of the platform, and freedom of the press are absolutely indispensable conditions of a progressive, enlightened democracy and of the perpetuity of its civilization. I mean freedom from the tyranny of the dollar and the crowd mind, freedom from sectarian and ecclesiastical tyranny. Without these freedoms we shall become a vast unwieldy horde of mediocre human beings; our civilization will fall to pieces of its own weight and cluttered complexity.

Freedom is a heady liquor. Freedom of expression involves the constant clash of opinions, the criticism of time-honored beliefs, practices, and institutions. There is no other way of holding our own, much less of making progress, in this complex and dynamic civilization of ours. Freedom is, and will be, misunderstood and abused. Nevertheless we must have more of it lest we perish. When Patrick Henry exclaimed: "Give me liberty or give me death!" he was speaking only of political liberty. It is even more true of the mental life of civilization that freedom, with all its dangers, is the price of life.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTER AND EDUCATION

In the most comprehensive sense education includes all the influences, physical and social, to which the plastic individual is subjected. But, since weather and climate are beyond human control, we may restrict the means of education to include all the social influences to which the developing individual is subjected. Of these, probably the school plays a major part. The pre-school influences in the home and neighborhood are very potent, although the psychoanalysts probably exaggerate their potency. The family and neighborhood influences continue potent during school years. Finally, when all these influences are good, they may fail because of the child's bad inheritance. When the educators have done their best they may fail; when they have done their worst they may fail to stamp out innate superiority. The school may fail because the home influences and community influences are not good. The teacher cannot make great headway against bad influences in the environment outside the school.

However, when education is doing its best, there remains the as yet incalculable power of heredity. Individuals will become social misfits, failures, mentally disordered, or criminals, through no fault of school or

home. In most cases we do not yet know why some lives go to rack and ruin with a good ancestry and favorable environmental influences. Education and the individual's growth and career are equations with one unknown factor.

Lately there has arisen a clamor for character education. It is said the schools have failed here, and we must find and put into operation some neat patent plan for developing character. Criminality, self-indulgence, corruption are rife in a society which is richer than any other human society has ever been or now is. Outside the schools people pursue wealth, power, material comforts, and crude amusements avidly. They pass laws which they do not intend to obey, or pass them without thinking of their import and consequences and then disobey them. People seek wealth and material comforts and social power and prestige with all their might and main and then expect their children, by some magic alchemy, to be transformed into plaster saints in the schools. The thing is impossible. The schools cannot isolate the child from the social atmosphere which it breathes and lives in outside the school. Nor can the school breed in a child powers that are not there. The conditions of a strong character are laid down in the child's natural temperament, its innate make-up of impulses, instincts, capacities, and aptitudes. The school can do a good deal in the formation of character, provided the favorable disposition or original "nature" is already there, and provided the social environment in the home and the community supports and reinforces the work of the school.

What is character? It is the entire organized system of habits of feeling, thinking, and acting which constitute the individual as a dynamic-going concern. It is not enough that the individual have well defined habitudes or dynamic attitudes. These must be organized and controlled by a definite dominating purpose or system of purposes. "By a person's character we understand the extent to which his life is directed towards a definite end, and ruled by definite principle." 1 "Character is that within us of which we are conscious as emphatically ourselves." 2 It is not enough for the individual to have strong impulses and desires. These must be organized into a harmonious system, unified by a controlling purpose, in order that he be a strong character. Character is an organized system of habits. A weak or oscillating character is an unorganized or ununified personality. An individual may be weak, either because there is no coherence, no harmony in his impulses, desires, and habits; or because he is lacking in "drive" or "force." He may have coherence but lack persistent energy. He may be an explosive center of incoherent energies.

A strong character may be bad. His habits and impulses may be dominated by ends that are antisocial. He may be ruthless, unprincipled; keeping within the law and out of jail, but pursuing his ends, within these limits, without regard to the well-being of his fellows or public welfare.

What is a good character? I should define it as an

¹ J. Welton, The Psychology of Education, p. 471. ² Ibid., p. 475.

organized system of active attitudes which is marked by fairness, sympathy, the spirit of coöperation for social well-being. Social well-being is furthered when the life of the community affords opportunity for all to be self-respecting, self-determining, fair-minded, and coöperating personalities. Our definitions of individual good and social good are necessarily circular, since they are the two poles of the one concrete moral reality—personality-in-community.

The primary notes of character are self-respect and self-control. These are developed only through self-activity. This is the meaning of freedom. But freedom is developed only through discipline. Unlimited indulgence of whims and impulses makes the child a slave, prevents it from developing character.

On the other hand, it is the individual alone which has character. Therefore, in the training of character, the teacher or parent must reverence the individuality of the child. There are many sorts and degrees of individual differences in temperament, capacity, and aptitude. The teacher must have sympathy, insight, and patience arising from reverence for the individual soul of the child.

There is no one general way in which character is developed. The individual must consciously get hold on, and organize, his own inner nature. And, since the individual is just his own organized inner nature and this nature is organized through the reaction to the environment, the self-organization of the individual requires incessant reflectiveness on the part of the individual's own organizing power—the power of re-

flective choice. A society which is good and worthy of support, by the coöperation of its members, is one in which free play is allowed for various individualities, within the limits of social stability.

Self-respect, self-control, self-direction, justice or fair play, and willingness to coöperate are the marks of good character.

There is no direct method for training character. The assumption that there can be such a formulized method is just a form of pseudo-mechanical superstition; one form of that general mechanical superstition which is so widespread in this age of mechanism. We are to get everything socially good by "days" and "laws" and "methods"; just as we have special technical methods for motor making and repairs, and for making canned drama and music.

Goethe says that, while a special talent ripens in isolation or stillness, a character develops in the stream of the world. In other words, character, which is personality in action, develops through all the activities of social life. In the school, character develops, in work and play, through honest effort; through exercise, and growth through exercise, of all the general capacities and special aptitudes which are the dynamic urges of the self and the potencies of personality. Character develops through intercourse with one's fellow pupils and playmates. The special function of the teacher is to guide sympathetically, wisely, and firmly when need be, the dynamic capacities of the pupil. There is no particular subject that is character building. Learning to read, to solve problems, to understand and use any

subject matter in its relations to life and other subject matters, learning to appreciate the meanings and beauties of literature, to compose essays, to write poems, to draw, to understand the processes of nature, to understand the history of one's country and the development of civilization, of justice, and good will, to do good manual work; all these are means to character development since they are means to the growth of personality in self-respect, self-direction and knowledge of one's place in the realms of nature and man.

Morality must be taught concretely, not by abstract and general principles.

On the other hand, there are subjects that contribute most directly to character growth. These are the subjects that quicken, enlarge, and purify the emotions by the enkindling touch of pure, fair, just, noble, and kindly deeds and personalities. Man is a hero worshiper and in his childhood and youth he is especially susceptible to hero worship. The noble characters of history and literature, those who have been loyal to great causes and principles, those who have lived for truth, justice, and the advancement of their fellows in the understanding and the control of nature in the service of their fellows; especially serve as quickeners of moral feeling and imagination. Socrates, Jesus, St. Paul, St. John, Plato, Gautama Buddha, St. Francis of Assisi, John Howard, Alfred the Great, Florence Nightingale, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Galileo, Newton, Spinoza, Mazzini, Faraday, Pasteur, Darwin, Robert Owen, are illustrations that come to mind at random.

The way to give content and stimulus to the moral imagination of the young is to feed their minds on noble literature and the deeds of humanity's culture heroes, those who have really advanced human progress, not on the deeds of conquerors and dynastic rulers. In the later phases of education the principles of civic morality can be taught, after the pupil has a good store of noble characters in mind. The goal of moral development is the formation by the individual of ideals. A genuine ideal is an imagined and embraced guiding principle of life. It will vary for differing individuals. The ideal of one will be to achieve satisfaction and serve his fellows in some practical line, in industry, agriculture, business, or profession; of another to serve through art; of another to achieve and serve through science, learning, teaching; of another through the ministry of religion.

But all are religious, if genuine ideals; in other words, if general purposes or plans by which the individual grows as a social personality through genuine service or honest work.

"A true ideal knows itself as unreal in the present, but sees itself as a goal which by effort may be approached, if not actually reached, by setting out from the present, and in no other way." "Every ideal is a purpose embedded in feeling and transmuted by imagination into something higher and better than experience has given us." We may say that the supreme and all-embracing ideal of human life, to form which

³ Ibid., p. 422.

⁴ Ibid., p. 420.

the teacher should aid the pupil, is *culture*. True culture is the realization and the exercise and enjoyment by man of all his capacities and aptitudes as a human being. The ideal of culture is that of the progressive perfecting of human capacity.

Progress is "man's distinctive mark." The ideal of culture is not a fixed and universal type, to which all must conform. It is not simply that all members of the race must be developed physically, æsthetically, intellectually, spiritually in the same manner and to the same degree.

Each has his own natural individuality, his own varied proportion of the common capacities of human nature and his own special aptitudes. Liberal culture means that each develops, becomes, lives, and enjoys the individuality that is his; that each one matures and functions with his own capacities. This culture is liberal because it is the liberation, for free self-directed activity, of the powers of each. There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit.

Moreover, individual culture is attainable only in an organized society. It comes through coöperation in the conservation and improvement of the social instruments of culture. All our means of education and culture—technical arts and industries, moral and political modes of behavior, no less than language, literature, the fine arts, pure science, and religion—are due to the coöperative activities of individuals in a community and are so conserved and transmitted only through the continuity of the social order.

Every teacher should endeavor to awaken in the

minds of his pupils a lively and intelligent sense of their dependence, for all their opportunities of culture, on the past work of coöperating individuals in the community.

By showing them what they owe to their cultural heritage, they will be awakened to a sense of their responsibility to hand on enhanced, if may be, the instruments of culture to the following generation.

And, in this work of showing what is owing to the past, restriction should not be made to one's own country or the ancestors thereof. It should be made plain what goods; in the way of fine arts, applied arts, writing, speech, science, political, moral, and religious ideals; we owe to other peoples. Therefore I say that the end of the educative process is the culture of the individual, as a coöperating and contributing member of a progressive civilized community. And the measure of social progress and civilization is the realization of personality.

CHAPTER VI

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND EDUCATION

Individuality, we have said, does not mean freakishness or queerness. The true individual is not antisocial, but rather socially minded.

Individuality consists in the organization of the fundamental interests of the self; in the harmonious development and enjoyment of the main impulses which make up the original inborn nature of the self. Happiness consists in the progressive satisfaction of these original impulses; in the satisfaction of all the interests whose satisfactions are compatible with the harmony of the self's life as a member of society.

The individual, at the outset of his earthly career, consists of a limited number of impulses or interests which are present in varying degrees of strength. There are certain common impulses which we may call instincts and capacities, and certain special ones which we may call aptitudes. All selves seek their own self-preservation, fear whatever threatens this, and like whatever furthers it. All seek the society and approval of their fellows. All are more or less gregarious and suggestible. All have, in some degree, the sexual and parental impulses. Some naturally tend to be leaders, many to be followers. Some seek power over their fellows. All have some degree of curiosity, are capable

of speech, and nearly all have some degree of capacity for analytic and synthetic thinking or reasoning. Some have marked special aptitudes—for example, for things mechanical, for music, drawing, the manipulation of language in prose or poetry, abstract reasoning.

Selves are born different, since they are born with varying intensities of the original impulses. Selves are born unequal with respect to both their physical and their mental capacities. Thus selves are far from being equally responsive to the stimuli supplied by the social environment. They are not equally responsive to the educational process in the large sense.

But, when the inborn differences in the possession of the common human impulses and special aptitudes have been fully recognized as setting limits to the power of education, it remains true that the power of education is very great, since the child is quite plastic and therefore responsive to the social influences that play upon it. In this initial plasticity of human nature lies all the promise and the glory of right education; and all the tragedy of misdirected, faulty, or positively evil education. Through education, in the comprehensive form of all environmental stimuli, the native capacities and aptitudes become canalized into habits of feeling and action, into bodies of sentiments and ways of doing things. As William James put it, there is a happy moment for fixing and shaping wisely every inborn capacity. As the twig is bent so will the tree grow. The tide in the affairs of men, which, when taken at the flood leads on to spiritual fortune, is the tide of early education. The character and the career

of the child are early determined, by the various patterns of conduct and ideals of life which impinge upon its sensitive budding nature; through the prohibitions and commands of its elders, the suggestions of its fellows and the force of the patterns of conduct, the stimuli to feeling, imagination, and consequently to action given by the things it sees, hears, reads, and does in home and schoolroom, on the playground and the street. The influences of the social environment, of the forces of family life, neighborhood, amusements, education, may work evil or good.

It is obvious that unhealthy physical surroundings and insufficient food will injure the individual development. What is not so obvious on the surface, but is even more fatally true, is that lack of healthy mental stimulation or nutriment is even more injurious. Evil companionship, the constant suggestion through the printed page or pictures of unworthy human acts and motives, irreparably injure the child. Plato was right when he insisted that the literature and music to be read and heard and repeated by the children must be such as to brace, not enervate, their minds; such as not to suggest sensuous things or to depict human life and the gods in unworthy or degrading manner. As a man feeleth and thinketh in his heart so is he, and as the child feeleth and imagineth so will the man think. Thinking that stirs the feelings, gives rein and direction to desire, and determines action springs, in most human beings, from the pictures and images that fill their waking minds and crop out in their dreams. In our subconscious life there live and grow the impulses, images and urges which determine what we are, will, and do. The imaginations of the young are very eager and active. Therefore their minds should be fed only on noble and bracing images. The poems and stories they read, the pictures they see, the music they hear should never be such as to present degrading or ignoble images of human life or such as to stimulate them to sensuous passions, to enkindle unworthy ambitions, to incite to lust or violence or dishonor. The imagery should be such as to feed their respect for the finer qualities in man, that they may form their own image of themselves thereof.

I have dwelt on imagination, because of its central importance in illustrating the principle that the function of education is to conserve and increase what is best in the human capital of culture by bringing it to bear on the nurture of the youth. Through education a society offers for the nourishment of the young what is best in the entire heritage of culture; the best that has been thought and done, felt and said, imagined and expressed. In the broadest sense of the term, "culture" includes all the achievements of the race in the progress of civilization. It includes manners no less than morals, art and letters no less than science, noble human figures no less than technology. The works of culture comprise all the instruments, all the physical, mental, moral, and social means by which a richer, fairer, happier life is made possible by the associated endeavors of human beings.

Culture is society's accumulated capital for making a fine human life. The young are initiated into the use of this capital, so that it may yield ever larger returns in well-being, in individual happiness, social order, and progress.

Psychoanalysis has made a valuable contribution to education. It has demonstrated that the experiences of the past, particularly those of childhood and youth and especially those that were intensely painful or pleasurable (fears, lusts, defeats, and successes of man's strongest desires) are never obliterated, but live on as active powers in the subconscious life. Any strong impulse thwarted or not sublimated, that is, its energy not directed into socially acceptable channels, may produce a schism in the personality leading to mental disorder.

Freud is in error in assuming that the one overmastering impulse is sex. Any strong impulse thwarted, dammed up, not wisely directed may lead to disaster. The problem of education in personality is to take the native impulsions which, as felt, are the basic interests of the self and to so organize and shape them that they may lead to individual harmony in socially useful, or at least not socially harmful, directions.

CHAPTER VII

HEREDITY AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

For the purposes of education, "environment" means the whole complex heritage of social culture, as this influences the plastic and growing individual and is reacted to by the individual. The social heritage includes the speech, manners and customs, morals, laws, economic and industrial activities, arts and literature, systems of scientific and historical knowledge, national or local, and humanistic ideals, religious organizations and ideals of a community or people. One who travels in the realm of human kind, even though it be only through reading and imagination, and compares the social cultures of different peoples, realizes the potency of different cultures in molding the individual. Frenchman, a German, an Italian, an Englishman, and an American may have been born alike in natural capacities, aptitudes, instincts, impulses. The mature individuals are different in many of their attitudes, because they have been molded by different cultures. Much more striking, of course, are the differences between a Hindoo, a Chinaman, and a European or American.

The normal individual at birth is plastic. He is easily molded into a "typical" member of a nation or people. He would not be "normal" if he were not.

But, on the other hand, there are marked differences between mature individuals who are members of the same people. Some of these differences are due to the differences in social strata, in education and occupation and manner of life. There are the differences between professions and other vocations, between scholars, lawyers, doctors, and business men; between city dwellers and country dwellers. And, especially in the cultivated classes, there may be closer affinities and sympathies between members of the same vocational class in different countries than between members of different classes in the same country. For example, the European and American scholar will have more intellectual interests in common than either will have with the business man or peasant (farmer) in his own country.

These familiar observations serve to illustrate a problem: the relation between inborn or native individuality and the power of the environment. Two opposite errors are made on this point. Those who insist on the omnipotency of heredity say that what determines the individual's character, ability, station, and career is the sum of his innate or inherited powers and that the social environment counts for very little. Therefore, education is not a potent agency in the making of the individual.

This is false. Whatever be the innate differences between individuals at birth (and they are considerable) the social environment is a powerful factor in their making. After all, we can only know what innate powers the individual began his earthly career with, in

so far as these have been evoked into play by the social situation. The mature individual is a product of x (heredity) into y (environment). But x is unknown until y has operated. If an individual develops certain strongly marked traits, if he becomes a leader in some line, then, of course, he had it in him at birth. But, in a different environment, he would have become a differently composed complex of qualities, a different personality.

On the other hand, belief in the omnipotency of education is equally an error. There are impassable limits set by the individual's innate capacities and lack of them. The author believes that he might have been a good trial lawyer or publicist, because he is said to have the power of forceful, argumentative public speech. But no amount of musical education would have made of him even a passable musician. He was born without any musical capacity.

So far then from innate differences being an argument against universal and efficient education, they are arguments for it. Only through the stimulation and nutriment supplied by education can the natural individuality be developed into full personality. Youth is very plastic, and the tragedy of poor education plus hampering economic and social conditions is that so much good human capacity goes to waste; is thwarted, maimed or destroyed. How, for example, can we expect the dynamic impulses, the immense ripening energies of children playing in the crowded purlieus of our city tenement districts, amidst dirt and squalor, the din of automobiles, the proximity of vice and crime,

to be affected? Some of these children, inevitably, become members of street gangs. The wonder is that, with our hectic, congested, skyscraper, city civilization, more of them do not turn out worse than they do.

The function of the educative process is to bring to bear upon the growing individual the nurture, the stimulation incitements and patterns of imagining, thinking, feeling, and doing that constitute the goodly social heritage of culture; in order that the individual may find himself as a free personality in the life of the actual community. All education is self-education, in the sense that its purpose is the development of self-determining personality. This purpose is realized only in so far as the individual assimilates, by an active selective process, makes his own, for social ends and ethical self-realization, the social heritage. He must at once become a self-directing member of the community and contribute to its progressive ongoing.

The social progress of man is the condition of individual development. But, just as truly, the social progress of man is the work of creative and coöperative minds. The entire life of civilization is the expression and self-realization of personality in the making. It is not something handed ready-made to man by nature or God. It is man's creation. In the continuous making and remaking of cultures (technics, arts, morals, laws, political systems, sciences, religion, and philosophies) the human spirit is ever creating itself, through creating and recreating the conditions and modes of its own self-realizations.

The true leaders of the race in the march of culture

are those in whom this creative spiritual urge is strongest. But, in order that social creativeness may continue and increase, the mass, the average men and women, must become increasingly sensitive and creatively responsive to the work of the leaders which is done for all. A civilization which should be organized to give free scope to leaders, while keeping the mass sodden, ignorant, and unresponsive, would never get anywhere. It would be headed for disaster. A civilization which, in raising the average, would repress the creative spirit of the exceptionally well-endowed would never advance. It would retrograde and fall to pieces of its own inertia. In fact, the average can be raised only when there is full scope for the adventurous and originative pioneers in culture. The more we liberate creative capacity to lead, or to respond to leadership, the more we advance. The glory and promise of democracy lies just here. It follows that the indispensable condition of communal progress, and of individual well-being through communal progress, is the effective offering to all the children of all the opportunity in nurture and incitement to creative self-development for the realization of personality, that the most widely diffused and highest powered education can give. Without creative leadership no progress. Equally, without creative responsiveness no progress. Human beings are born various and unequal in their capacities. Let full scope be given, that the variety and inequality of powers shall all find realization; so far as this is consistent with the social stability without which education cannot be carried forward at all; and society will progress in the increase of rich, full-bodied, harmonious, and dynamic personalities.

Especially is it true that education must be conducted so as to evoke, not to dampen and stamp out, the creative powers of youth. Educational opportunities, in the form of vigorous, large-minded teachers; good equipment for manual work, artistic work, laboratory work, field work, and play; in short, for education by doing and thinking (thinking is a form of doing) must be provided in greater abundance.

More play must be given to the individuality of the pupils. This implies not only better equipment, better insight and more initiative in teachers, but more teachers of this sort and a more elastic program.

Exceptional talent and even genius differ only in degree from the average. The genius is one who has a tremendous creative urge in some direction of common interest. We can only find out what the plastic youth can do and be through rich and widespread opportunities.

It may be said that this plea for the universalizing of the best available educational opportunities will, if carried out, involve much monetary waste. Well, grant it. Can we not better afford to waste money in order that no genuine and healthful human capacity may be killed or perish of inanition, that no normal human impulse may be choked up, that no creative urge may die or be twisted away into pathological or criminal ways? Why not accept the risk of some waste in public education when we allow for so much

waste of machines and materials to keep business going, pushing up consumption to keep production on the upgrade?

We as a people are constantly scrapping and wasting our machines; wasting our time and our powers on crude and base things. Can we not afford better to waste more on the building of personality in all the youth?

We spend more on automobiles, cosmetics, candy, chewing gum, and amusements than on education. Why increase our leisure by getting machinery to do our work, if we do not learn how to use our leisure in ways befitting to thinking human beings? What is the good of our immense and increasing mechanical productivity, if it issues only in a leisure spent in crude and degrading amusements, in witnessing crude and bestial plays and movies, in reading crude and sensual stuff, all of which entertainments are produced only for money?

And the reason these degrading things make money for their producers is largely lack of a better social and educational environment for our youth. In the rush for wealth and for coarse satisfactions, the elders have made an unhealthy environment for the young and then complain that the young revolt with cynicism. Plato was right in insisting that the future of the state depends on the kind of material which feeds the imaginations, stirs the pulses, and fills the thoughts of the young.

The richer and more widely diffused the educational opportunities for the development of the personality,

the more human capacities will come to fruition and the richer and worthier will the community life be. The ideal society would be one in which every creative impulse of every self would find expression.

CHAPTER VIII

A SPIRITUAL PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Man is more than an animal organism. He is a spirit. He is an imaginative and thinking being. He remembers his past experiences. He distills therefrom images and concepts, with meanings and values for determining his own place in nature. He analyzes, and puts together into fresh combinations, his earlier experiences. He invents records; monuments, inscriptions, languages, calendars, literatures. Thus he accumulates an ever increasing wealth of social culture. Every generation, in the normal course of human history, starts out with a greater capital than the previous generations. There are, of course, periods crowded with creative achievements; such as the past one hundred and fifty years in western civilization or the Periclean age in Greece. These creative periods are the striking outbursts of forces slowly accumulating and maturing through long stretches of time, just as an earthquake or volcanic eruption is a critical point in the processes of nature.

It is through memory, imagination, analytic and synthetic thinking that man creates, preserves, and recreates his cultural heritage. The most significant thing about man is, after all, his power of mental analysis and creation. And the matter of most con-

cern to man the thinker is his philosophy of life, his doctrine or belief in regard to his right relations to his fellows and to nature. Education that does not start the youth on the way to a constructive philosophy of life is a ghastly failure. And I fear it must be admitted that, to an alarming extent, present-day education fails to do this. The explanation of this failure is not far to seek. When civilization was under church control, whatever education there was was under religious direction. A specific faith which involved a philosophy of conduct and life was inculcated. But to-day the separation of church and state means too often that no philosophy of life except that of the street, the market place, and the amusement place are offered. Religious freedom, with our sectarianism, means freedom from all positive religion and all constructive philosophy. A philosophy of life is a reflective creed, a program of conduct. It is not just a theory coolly entertained, but a belief held to be good for practice. In the absence of a sound philosophy of life, the individual will be guided either by habit or impulse or an eye on the egoistic advantage. He will act in a certain way, either because he has been accustomed so to do, or from an overmastering appetite, or in order to get the approval or advantage of his fellows. No thinking person, that is no normal human being, can dispense with a philosophy of life. It is of the utmost importance to the individual and to society.

It cannot be left to the churches. They do not have very much of the pupil's time, often none of it. It cannot be left to the parents. Very often they have not any philosophy of life, much less an adequate one. Since the most important quality of an individual is his social philosophy, his philosophy of life, the beginning of this must be laid in the school. All education is character development. What a child learns about nature, history, art and letters, man, is useless or may be harmful, if it does not focus on the development in himself of a social philosophy in action.

Habit is a great power. In his great chapter on Habit, William James says:

"Habit is thus the enormous fly-wheel of society, its most precious conservative agent. It alone is what keeps us within the bounds of ordinance, and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor. It alone prevents the hardest and most repulsive walks of life from being deserted by those brought up to tread therein. It keeps the fisherman and the deckhand at sea through the winter; it holds the miner in his darkness, and nails the countryman to his logcabin and his lonely farm through all the months of snow; it prevents us from invasion by the natives of the desert and the frozen zone. It dooms us all to fight out the battle of life upon the lines of our nurture and our early choice, and to make the best of a pursuit that disagrees, because there is no other for which we are fitted, and it is too late to begin again. It keeps different social strata from mixing. Already at the age of twenty-five you see the professional mannerism settling down on the young commercial traveler, on the young doctor, on the young minister, on the young counsellor-at-law. You see the little lines of cleavage

running through the character, the tricks of thought, the prejudices, the ways of the 'shop,' in a word, from which the man can by-and-by no more escape than his coat-sleeve can suddenly fall into a new set of folds. On the whole, it is best he should not escape. It is well for the world that, in most of us, by the age of thirty, the character has set like plaster, and will never soften again." ¹

Tames goes on to draw certain practical maxims from the law of habit. "The great thing, in all education, is to make our nervous system our ally instead of our enemy. It is to fund and capitalize our acquisitions, and to live at ease upon the interest of the fund. For this we must make automatic and habitual, as early as possible, as many useful actions as we can. . . . The more of the details of our daily life we can hand over to the effortless custody of automatism, the more our higher powers of mind will be set free for their own proper work. There is no more miserable human being than one in whom nothing is habitual but indecision, and for whom the lighting of every cigar, the drinking of every cup, the time of rising and going to bed every day, and the beginning of every bit of work, are subjects of express volitional deliberation "2

James formulates three maxims for the formation of right habits. "The first is that, in the acquisition of a new habit, or in the leaving off of an old one, we must

² Ibid., p. 122.

¹ William James, *Psychology*, Vol. 1, Chap. iv, p. 121 (quoted by permission of the publishers, Henry Holt and Company).

take care to launch ourselves with as strong and decided an initiative as possible. . . .

"The second maxim is: Never suffer an exception to occur till the new habit is securely rooted in your life. Each lapse is like the letting fall of a ball of string which one is carefully winding up; a single slip undoes more than a great many turns will wind again. Continuity of training is the great means of making the nervous system act infallibly right. . . .

"A third maxim may be added . . . : Seize the very first possible opportunity to act on every resolution you make, and on every emotional prompting you may experience in the direction of the habits you aspire to gain. . . . Every time a resolve or a fine glow of feeling evaporates without bearing practical fruit is worse than a chance lost; it works so as positively to hinder future resolutions and emotions from taking the normal path of discharge. There is no more contemptible type of character than that of the nerveless sentimental dreamer, who spends his life in a weltering sea of sensibility and emotion, but who never does a manly concrete deed. Rousseau, inflaming all the mothers of France, by his eloquence, to follow Nature and nurse their babies themselves, while he sends his own children to the foundling hospital, is the classical example of what I mean. But every one of us in his measure, whenever, after glowing for an abstractly formulated Good, he practically ignores some actual case, among the squalid 'other particulars' of which that same Good lurks disguised, treads straight on Rousseau's path. All Goods are disguised by the vulgarity of their concomitants, in this work-a-day world; but woe to him who can only recognize them when he thinks them in their pure and abstract form."

James concludes that "it is not simply particular lines of discharge, but also general forms of discharge, that seems to be grooved out by habit in the brain. . . . If we often flinch from making an effort, before we know it the effort-making capacity will be gone. Attention and effort are . . . two names for the same psychic fact." The final practical maxim is: "Keep the faculty of effort alive in you by a little gratuitous exercise every day. That is, be systematically ascetic or heroic in little unnecessary points, do every day or two something for no other reason than that you would rather not do it, so that when the hour of dire need draws nigh, it may find you not unnerved and untrained to stand the test." A man who will follow this maxim "will stand like a tower when everything rocks around him, and when his softer fellow-mortals are winnowed like chaff in the blast." 4

The cultivation of habits of integrity, accuracy, self-control, coöperation, toleration, are of the utmost importance. The foundations of character are laid in habits. But habits are not enough for a thinking being, especially not enough for the complex dynamic ever changing social life in which we live to-day. Principles, general views believed and held to, are necessary. He who thinks meanly of man will deal meanly with man. He whose sympathies cannot range beyond the

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

interests of his family or of his cronies will be a poor citizen of the state and of humanity. He who has not thought much about the soul and God may be a thriving earthworm but he will prove a sorry patriot.⁵

We may go farther and say that he who has no socialized outlook, who is not ready to treat every person as having worth in himself, he who is egoistic in outlook and has merely a family egotism or a class egotism or even a national egotism, is a dangerous person. How can the school lay the foundation of a sound philosophy of life? In the earlier years through the enkindling and ennobling figures of great characters in literature and history, attractively presented to the young. These should include the great saints, prophets, lovers of their kind. For us the Bible and the later history of Christianity presents a noble array of such characters. They should be studied as great human characters, their prophetic intuitions learned.

To be specific, why need we waste precious time and let precious youth be without their example, while we debate over the origin of the earth and of man or the miraculous birth of Jesus? Why cannot the story of Jesus and his teaching be presented without being encumbered by a mass of dogmatic and disputable Jewish-Christian theological interpretations? Even in my early years I never could find any necessary connection between the appealing moral beauty of the figure of Jesus and the significance of his teachings, on the one hand, and his alleged miraculous physical origin, on the other hand. It is not the province of the

⁵ Bishop Berkeley's remark.

school to teach any form of dogmatic theology. It is its province to develop in the pupil an insight into, and faith in, the higher values of self-control and self-direction over random indulgence of appetite and impulse; the higher value of the spirit of coöperation, service, and fellowship over self-seeking. All these higher values have their source in reverence for the spirit in man. Therefore materialism is a harmful philosophy. If man be nothing but a chance assemblance of physical atoms, if his feelings, his thoughts, his aspirations are naught but by-products of blind chemical forces, then he is, of all beings, most miserable and most anomalous; for his noblest impulses and loveliest aspirations and visions are but mockeries.

This much of a spiritual philosophy is implied in an ethical and social philosophy of life, that the spiritual in man is not the product of mere matter, but is the offspring of a Higher Reality. And is not just this what is meant, in spiritual religion, by God? Belief in God is belief in the supremacy of the spiritual values in human life.

I do not see how education can prosper unless the teacher has such a conviction and imparts it, lets his pupils know he has it and that it is an inspiring power and a guiding light in his life.

The impelling motive of all educational activity is the quest for perfection. "All our arts and sciences and institutions are but so many quests of perfection on the part of men; and when we see how diverse the types of excellence may be, how various the tests, how flexible the adaptations, we gain a richer sense of what the

terms 'better' and 'worse' may signify in general." 6 Education is the deliberately organized instrument for the fundamental urge of man, his undving question for the perfection of his individuality. The religion and the philosophy of democracy is that this quest is one in which every human self shares and that it can be furthered only by concerted effort on the part of all. The individual achieves whatsoever perfection he is capable of only through that social cooperation through which, in his tender and plastic years, society by its organized support brings into the presence of his living spirit all the finest, the truest and noblest examples, patterns, and stimuli that mankind, in its long quest for perfection, has discovered and fashioned. The ideal is that each in his separate star (his own individuality) shall paint the thing as he sees it (do the things that he can do best) for the enrichment of the whole, for the fulfillment of the spirit in the life of humanity. It is more life and fuller that all seek. The wisdom of the ages testifies that more life and fuller is the life of subjection of the animal and the sensuous to the spiritual—to the discovering and possession of the true, to the creation and enjoyment of the beautiful, to fellowship, to friendship, to coöperation, to love.

If the spirit in man is not supreme, if it be a mere bubble thrown off by the body, conscience, responsibility, duty, freedom, truth, beauty are delusions. No one can be a true teacher who does not, by all his words and acts, teach the supremacy of the mind and

⁶ William James, *Memories and Studies*, "The Social Value of the College Bred."

spirit. How can he do this if he has no faith in the power and supremacy of the spirit? To have this faith in the supremacy of the spiritual values is to have the essence of religion, no matter in what symbols it be clothed. It is a philosophy, when it is recognized that the very undying urge of man for perfection, all his strivings for culture, all his creative works in science, art, letters, philosophy, social organization, all his efforts to communicate these things, "to carry the torch and tip with flame the outstretched unlit torches of the young," alone give meaning to human life; that these aims alone confer value on any civilization, on any state or community. The whole history of human cultures, the entire activity of education and of all the arts are inexplicable on any other hypothesis than that the mind or spirit is supreme in man and in the universe.

The teacher needs this vision to strengthen him in his hours of weakness, for when he is strong he is unconsciously living by it. He needs it to guide him in his hours of perplexity, for when he is not in doubt he is being guided by it.

An idealistic philosophy of life, which, when passionately held, is a religion, is indispensable to the teacher. Without it he cannot reverence or enkindle the spirits of his pupils. If the young do not get it, if they go out from the schools without that self-reverence and self-control, without that faith in the possibilities of humanity and that dedication to the social good which springs from reverence for other persons, all else that they have learned will be of little use, may even be

harmful in themselves and to society. Two great English poets have expressed the essence of the spiritual faith, the religion of democracy and education.

By love subsists All lasting grandeur, by pervading love;

This spiritual Love acts not nor can exist Without Imagination, which, in truth, Is but another name for absolute power And clearest insight, amplitude of mind, And Reason in her most exalted mood.

Imagination having been our theme, So also hath that intellectual Love, For they are each in each, and cannot stand Dividually.⁷

All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist; Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power

Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist

When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.

The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,

The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky, Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;

Enough that He heard it once; we shall hear it by and by.

⁷ William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book XIV; 11(168-170, 188-192, 206-209.

And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence

For the fulness of the days? Have we withered or agonized?

Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might issue thence?

Why rushed the discords in, but that harmony should be prized?

Sorrow is hard to bear, and doubt is slow to clear,

Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal and
woe:

But God has a few of us whom he whispers in the ear;
The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis we musicians know.8

⁸ Robert Browning, "Abt Vogler," X, XI.

CHAPTER IX

METHOD AND CONTENT IN EDUCATION

If, as I have insisted, the development of the individual, as a cooperating and contributing member of society, is the supreme purpose of education, certain consequences follow. Let us bear in mind, in order to see these consequences clearly and grasp them firmly, that individuals are born not only diverse but unequal. By no hocus pocus of education sentimentalism can they be made equal. Nor is it desirable that their diversities should be rubbed out. To attempt to run all the plastic young into the same mold will result in tragedy for the individual and disaster for society. Tragedy for the individual, since it will involve the repression and suppression of strong native impulses which, driven underground into the unconscious life of the self, will either spell mental disaster (the division of the personality) or the outbreak of these dynamic impulses in antisocial acts. Either result is enough social disaster. But still more widespread social disaster will result from the attempt to standardize the growing selves. The life of the community is successful, just in so far as it is constituted by a multitude of diverse individuals, each employing and enjoying his or her own special aptitudes in the service of the whole. Mass education means standardization on a low level and this means loss of a rich diversity of interests, activities, and achievements; as well as the defeat of the promise of each separate young life, with its own distinctive flavor lost in the common stew.

Individuality is sacred when we understand that it implies the individuality which leads each one to recognize the sacredness of all other individuals and to bear his part gladly in the upkeep and improvement of the common life of civilization.

The growing individual, then, is a dynamic being whose true destiny is to achieve and enjoy the continuous integration of his own capacities as a contributing member of the community.

The individual is an active integrating being. The method and curriculum must be such as to call into play his normal capacities and to enable him to gain self-direction, self-control, and become a constructive member of the whole. All education is really selfeducation. But the young self needs guidance, needs to have presented to him the stimuli and patterns of thought and conduct which the experience of the race shows to be the best to fit him to live as a social individual. Much emphasis has been placed on learning by doing, on the active participation of the child in the learning process. This emphasis is correct, if not misinterpreted. The child should not be required to learn anything which has no meaning for him. He should be brought to appreciate, by activity, the forces and processes of his environment. He should learn to use his hands by manual arts. But it must not be over-

looked that the child is mentally active, as well as physically. The average child has an active imagination and an enquiring mind. And the most important part of his environment is that constituted by language, literature, manners, morals, fine arts, civic and political organization. If, for example, initiation into the meaning of the social culture (in the form of language, morals and social life) is sacrificed to the acquisition of skill and understanding in the process of factories for the dwellers in factory towns, or of agriculture for dwellers in the country, the most important part of the education is sacrificed.

The child should participate actively in the educative process. It should learn the meanings, the relationships of the facts of natural science and of history which it acquires and the grounds of every law and rule. The true purpose of education is not to stuff the pupil's mind with meaningless raw facts and laws and rules taught as sacrosanct dogmas; it is not to turn the child into a highly trained parrot. It is to feed the intellect of the growing child, not dampen and repress it. Education must guide the emotions and impulses, so that the child will understand why certain things should be done and others not done. Education should provide a socially healthy outlet for all the child's natural impulses. It should be expressive not impressive; expressive in a way that makes for individual self-control and self-direction and for social harmony.

Too often education fails to measure up to these ends. Too often it puts a damper on curiosity, the free ranging and play of the intellect; too often it is a

repressive process which the pupil regards as a sort of prison discipline. Hence the eager bursting forth from school, the flinging away of books, the longing for vacation and the end of the school period. Why does education so often fail to meet, stimulate, and guide into useful channels, the natural healthy curiosity of the child?

Because the cheapest and easiest way of education is that of routine repetition in recitations from textbooks. It is the cheapest and easiest way for various reasons. In the first place it takes more and better teachers to lead the pupils to participate actively in their school work; more and better teachers to furnish to the pupils the occasion to enquire, to discuss and to satisfy their minds; to get them to engage in their own way in research. For, as John Dewey truly says, "All thinking is research, and all research is native, original, with him who carries it on, even if everybody in the world already is sure of what he is still looking for." 1 The easiest way and the poorest way of teaching is the way of formal recitation from textbook and nothing more. The teacher does not need to have an active, supple, broad, sympathetic mind. More pupils can be taught in this way. It is a simple and cheap way to run a school; with a fixed time-table and all the pupils engaged in this sort of parrot work at the same time. In the Mohammedan schools all the pupils simultaneously recite the Koran at the top of their lungs. In this method the greatest educator is the best drillsergeant. Then again there is the great temptation of

¹ John Dewey, Democracy and Education, pp. 173-4.

teaching, to fall into stereotyped, ossified, dogmatic ways.

Sometimes the subjects in the curriculum are viewed as ends-in-themselves. The function of geography is to make geographers, of history to make historians, of science to make scientific scholars. It is forgotten that the function of all education is to help the individual to get hold of himself, to realize and direct his own impulses and powers as a member of society. The "subjects" studied are auxiliary instruments to this end: that the individual grow in self-knowledge, power, and self-control as a member of the community. Certain subjects:—literature, English, elementary mathematics, the elements of history and civics, manual training, physical training, the applied and fine arts are indispensable, because they represent the fundamental ways in which the powers of the individual must ripen into use in order that he may live well, as a member of a civilized community.

"Knowledge is humanistic in quality not because it is about human products in the past, but because of what it does in liberating human intelligence and sympathy." ² All true education is liberal, vocational, and avocational. "The aim of society is the increase of justice and culture." ³ Real education strives to make self-sustaining persons. Learning is by and for doing. Science is a craft, literature a rune. Language is a tool. The knowledge which each science offers is a

² Ibid., p. 269.

³ Dr. George Kerchensteiner, quoted by E. C. Moore, What is Education? p. 167.

body of hypothetical directions. Even culture is a doing. "Methods are good just in the degree that they make the student a partner in the enterprise of learning." ⁴

The best way of learning is by problem getting, the putting and the solving of questions by the learner.⁵ What makes the scientific mind is the persistent and dominant capacity to ask questions, select, and collect the relevant material and suspend judgment, until the available evidence is all in. Even then the scientific temper is shown in the attitude of holding one's hypotheses, theories, and even one's beliefs *tentatively*; subject to revision. The unscientific mind is one that jumps at conclusions and, having once jumped, refuses to budge from its landing place.

It is an error to suppose that the scientific method or mental training is an attitude acquirable without much knowledge of the content of knowledge. There is no other way of mental training than that of dealing with concrete bodies of knowledge. The method develops in the content, grows out of the subject matter. One cannot know the methods of physics without knowing physics. One cannot know the methods of history without knowing history. The fundamental error in the old doctrine of formal discipline consisted in the divorce of method from content and in the consequent belief that a method could be carried over bodily into a different field. That, for example, the

⁴ Moore, op. cit., p. 227.

⁵ Summarized from Moore, op. cit., pp. 184ff. See also W. Stanley Jevons, *Principles of Science*, Vol. II, p. 134.

methods of studying classical literature and philology could be carried over bodily into natural science.

Of course, there is a transfer of training or mental attitude. One who has developed a scholarly and scientific attitude in one field will carry over this fundamental attitude to other fields. Moreover, in cognate fields, such as historical subjects, languages, and literatures, the same methods will hold good. Knowledge and mental training develop together. The schools exist primarily to give to the learners, by a process of selection and organization, the raw materials of knowledge, in order that the individual, by the activity of his own mind, may select and organize his own knowing. Knowing is an active process, the dynamic function of a mind. One knows only in so far as one can make use of knowledge. As Plato insisted, knowing arises from use and is for use.6 Indeed Plato insists in the strongest manner on the tremendous importance of the content of knowledge.7 The several studies in the curriculum, then, are not means of general training. Each one of them is a specific means for specific training. The reason why the individual should study the several main divisions of learning is that each one is the expression of a fundamental phase of the civilization in which the child is to realize itself; and each corresponds to a fundamental capacity in human nature. If the individual turns out to be totally lacking in a certain capacity, for example musical aptitude, then he should not be expected to study that subject.

⁶ Euthydemus, 288, 289.

⁷ See The Republic, 402, 429ff.

To require it is cruel to the individual and socially wasteful. One does not know anything unless one can make use of one's information. Getting knowledge is not a process of passive appropriation, or a blind swallowing. Getting knowledge is an active process.

Education is the active process by which the individual builds up, with his native capacities, his own world. But, since the individual builds up his own world as, at first, a dependent member of society, one who owes to the community the opportunities for building up his own world and thus coming into possession of his own personality; and, since the vocation of the individual is to become a coöperating and contributing member of society, the individual's own world must be built up in ways that will make him a useful member of the social world. We make ourselves in the image of our environment. The environment includes all the agencies, all the stimulations and patterns, which the plastic individual reacts to. What the school can do is to offer to the learners a well-organized selected environment of stimuli, patterns, means and ends, in reaction to which the individual will use his own mind to build up his personality in ways that will be socially valuable and individually satisfying.

Thus the one purpose of education is to enable the student to so master his own capacities and to so grasp the meanings and values of the twofold world of his fellows and physical things, that he can use what he has learned to make his life function satisfyingly in the social order. Therefore it is a false and mischievous philosophy of education which sets up an opposition

between individual values and social values in educa-

state.

The individual can become a personality, he can realize himself, only through the active assimilation and transformation of the cultural heritage, which is social. Whatever we become, even the most dominating and self-assertive amongst us, depends upon the social heritage and environment. On the other hand, the cultural or spiritual wealth of a society depends upon the opportunities it affords for manifold individualities to develop and enrich society in manifold ways. When everything else is subordinated to military power (as in ancient Sparta) or to financial power (as to-day) society becomes the poorer by the maiming and thwarting of the individualities of some of its members. The best type of education, socially, is that one which provides the most manifold and richest opportunities for the realization of varied individuality

The sound social ideal includes training for the wise and satisfying use of leisure, not less than of work hours. To-day we have a society in which leisure and the material means for its enjoyment exist as never before in human history. And yet how many know how to use their leisure in permanently satisfying ways?

in its members and which at the same time develops in them the sense of obligation and joy in contributing their moieties to the cultural wealth of the

A society that will come nearer the ideal will be one in which the love of knowledge of man and nature, the love of beautiful and noble literature and art will be nurtured.

Since the vocation of the child is to be an integrated active member of society, the curriculum must not be a thing of shreds and patches, a crazy quilt of subjects. It must be a coherent whole or unity, organized to facilitate the self-initiation by the young into the meanings, purposes, values, ends in which he is to find satisfaction as a social self.

Too often the curriculum has been, and I am afraid still is, a patchwork, not an organism controlled by any design or purpose. The key to a sound curriculum is this fundamental principle of education, of life—the child is to grow through increasing self-activity as a self-integrating, self-directing member of society; and this growth takes place through his active assimilation of the main elements in cultural or human progress, to the end that he may be able to use these to do his part in the social life.

The child is a physical organism. He must have play and manual arts, instruction in bodily hygiene and physical culture and the mastery of his own muscular organs, so that he may be healthy and physically skillful. The child is a feeling, imagining, and thinking organism. Through music, drawing, and literature his emotions and his imagination must be stimulated and fed so that he may feel rightly and imagine worthily. The child is a member of the living generation, which in turn is one link in the endless chain of human generations. Through historical studies, taught and assimilated as the record of the social or cultural progress

of the race, beginning from the history of his own people, he should be initiated into an intelligent appreciation of the glorious heritage of social culture which is his. Then he will feel both his dignity and his responsibility as a unit in human society. I mean by "social culture," the story of man's conquest of the forces of nature, of disease, of his own fears and selfish passions. Political and even commercial history should be subordinated to the story of man's cultural progress. In connection with history, geography should be taught as human geography, the background of social progress.

The curriculum should include an acquaintance with the general nature of the physical world and living organisms; physics and biology. Every youth should be inducted into the knowledge of the great laws of the physical order, on which all our technical progress depends. This for two reasons: (1) that he may understand the dependence of technical progress, in the control of natural forces for human ends, on scientific enquiry; and (2) that he may realize that in nature there is order, that underlies all the apparent disorder and that only through patient spelling out of this order and suiting his acts thereto can man control nature. Herein is a most valuable lesson for the conduct of human life. Just as in his dealing with nature, so in his dealings with himself and his fellows, the study of the causes of things and the application of its results to the conduct of the individual life and the social order is the only sure way of progress. And if, in nature's processes, when we understand the causes of things

we see the foolishness of craven fear and of outbursts of anger against the natural course of events, so in the study of human nature we shall banish fear and vindictive anger; understanding leaves only pity and love and the resolve to improve human life by removing the causes of its defects.

In particular, the study of biology has important practical applications in personal hygiene, preventive medicine, and sanitation. For these reasons alone the youth should be initiated into an elementary understanding of the processes of life. Moreover, life is the basis of human society and human history. No one can have an intelligent appreciation of the nature of man in society without having gotten at least a glimpse of the fecund and creative march of life from the amœba to man.

When one considers how the majority of literate Americans spend their leisure time and their surplus money, one is led to the conclusion that only a minority, and a rather small one at that, of human beings can be interested in the fine things of culture: in good literature, art, drama, music, science, philosophy.

Have we not made a mistake in attempting to give too literary and too intellectual an education in our public schools? Would it not be wiser to confine general education to the three R's and to lay the emphasis chiefly on the industrial or manual arts? Perhaps so. It is probably true that "book learning" (literature, history, and theoretical science) have played too large a rôle in our school curricula. Probably we should provide, earlier in the school period

and more adequately, for manual and industrial training. But, certainly, these subjects should not be taught in a crudely utilitarian spirit. There is no impassable chasm between industrial and "fine" art. When it is assumed that such a chasm exists "art" becomes "arty," idle, meaningless, a superfluous appanage. Great art always springs out of a living social culture. The Homeric poems, the Greek temples and tragedies, Dante, Shakespeare, the Gothic cathedrals, the Moorish architecture of Spain, grew out of, and expressed the social life of the people.

The greatest American contribution to art is the skyscraper; perhaps the movie will become beautiful. Our automobile bodies have become much more graceful and beautiful these late years. When art is divorced from practical life it becomes lifeless, then the industrial arts become ugly; their products have not the highest and richest usefulness. At present one of our great problems is to combine use and beauty through machine production. This can be done if the spirit of beauty and utility are united. They can be united through an education in which the industrial arts are married to beauty and freedom.

We must beware, however, in a reaction against a supposedly ornamental and useless "literary" and "artistic" education, not to put away the opportunity for all the children to develop their capacities in literature, in the fine arts, and pure science. Provision for the industrial arts must not be permitted to crowd out opportunity for acquaintance with the best that has been thought, said, and done in the past and that is

enshrined in great literature and art and the more significant movements in history.

It is a significant thing that the British labor unions, in their campaigns for universal educational opportunity for their children, have stressed "cultural" or "liberal" rather than bread-and-butter studies.

CHAPTER X

ÆSTHETIC EDUCATION

A work of art is the expression of a significant emotion. It evokes in the beholder a significant emotion. The artistic product is distinguished from the nonartistic in this way—the emotion expressed and evoked must be communicable. It is an emotion with a meaning. In other words, the emotion is carried by an idea, a universal. If, being hungry, I perceive a savory and tempting dish, I have an emotion. But this emotion is exhausted and disappears in eating the dish. It does not carry over. It has no sharable social meaning. So too, if something makes me just blindly angry, or arouses my lust.

A painting or a poem arouses significant emotion. The landscape or the figures arouse ideas—thoughts bathed in feeling. The poem does the same. The meaning may be that of sylvan beauty, mountain majesty, a phase of human character and destiny, an intense feeling of love, hatred, or cupidity. Take, for example, Browning's "Fra Lippo Lippi." The captain of the night guard had never thought one of his men looked a Judas. Fra Lippo says,

He's Judas to a tittle, that man is! Just such a face!

Again the poet exclaims:

I'd like his face—
His, elbowing on his comrade in this door
With the pike and lantern,—for the slave that holds
John Baptist's head a-dangle by the hair
With one hand ("Look you now," as who should say)
And his weapon in the other, yet unwiped!
It's not your chance to have a bit of chalk,
A wood-coal or the like? or you should see!

For the painter the faces are significant of types of human character.

The immediate test of a work of human art is, then, does it rouse a significant emotion, does it evoke a feeling of something typical, something that has relations, that is communicable and sharable, a feeling which arouses an idea? By "idea" here one means an image in its general significance, or a form of words or music that carry a general typical quality. The technique of art, the arrangement of form, line, and color in painting, rhythmic structure in poetry, will vary with the culture. All artistic techniques are rooted in general capacities of human nature to image, to conceive and to feel. But these general capacities are modified in thousands of ways, by the historic traditions of culture, as well as by the inborn variations of individuals in their capacities for expression and feeling. The painting of China excels in the use of the line, with its ethereal delicacy and suggestiveness, that of Europe excels in color and solidity or tri-dimensionality.

The poetry of China is like its painting. Even in

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Europe, the lyric, the expression of individual moods, seems more characteristic of the northern (German and English) than of the Latin races. But fashions change in poetry as in painting. The epic no longer appeals strongly, the lyric, the elegiac and dramatic too, have changed in nature.

What makes the perennial appeal of the great poet, when themes, subjects, and moods have changed, is the magic of utterance; the evocative, emotional quality of their writing. Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, Shelley, and, to a lesser degree perhaps, Wordsworth can never grow old, because this word-magic is theirs. Hamlet's soliloquy, Portia's speech on mercy, Jacques' The Seven Ages of Man, Marc Antony's Funeral Oration, the Fidele Song in King Lear, Othello's last words, Prospero's lines in The Tempest, Act IV, Scene i, are but a few of the many things in Shakespeare than can never grow old. Nor can Keats' "Ode to a Nightingale":

Thou was not born for death, immortal Bird!

No hungry generations tread thee down;

The voice I hear this passing night was heard
In ancient days by emperor and clown:

Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
She stood in tears amid the alien corn;
The same that ofttimes hath
Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn."

Nor his "Ode on a Grecian Urn":

Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness,
Thou foster-child of Silence and slow Time,
Sylvan historian, who canst thus express
A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme:
What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape
Of deities or mortals, or of both,
In Tempe or the dales of Arcady?
What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?
What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?
What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?

O Attic shape! Fair attitude! with brede
Of marble men and maidens overwrought,
With forest branches and the trodden weed;
Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought
As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!
When old age shall this generation waste,
Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
"Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

Sydney Colvin thus defines Fine Art: "It is everything which man does or makes in one way rather than another, freely and with premeditation, in order to express and arouse emotion, in obedience to laws of rhymthic movement or utterance, or regulated design, and with results independent of direct utility and capable of affording to many, permanent and disinterested delight." ¹

This is as good a definition as any. The forms or

¹ Encyclopædia Brittanica, 11th Edition, X p. 371.

patterns of art and the modes of its expression and enjoyment, both in the creative artist and the contemplator, are conditioned by two factors—the native impulsion of the artist or enjoyer and the tradition of his social culture. Whether we be artists or enjoyers of art, what we express and enjoy depends on our original endowment of feeling or expression, as shaped by whatever heritage of æsthetic culture all share in. The history of any art, painting, poetry or music, shows on the one hand, how dependent both the creation and appreciation of art are on the whole tradition of social culture, of which the æsthetic tradition is a part. It will suffice to compare the predominance of sculpture among the ancient Greeks, of didactic religious painting and Gothic architecture in the Middle Ages, of painting in the Italian and Dutch renaissance, of poetry in the English renaissance, of art in machine products to-day. And on the other hand, the rise of new schools shows how leading individuals and groups break away from the tradition, because it is found inadequate to express in art the new culture. Consider the succession of schools of painting in northern France and England; of literary schools, classical, romantic, realistic, democratic. Neither artistic creation, nor æsthetic appreciation, are independent of the general culture of the time. The arts of a period of culture, of a people in a given period, express for good and ill the soul of its culture. At the present moment, for instance, the most striking arts of the United States are in business buildings, the designing of automobile bodies, house and office furnishings, and the production of moving

pictures. Our genuine art expresses the business and industrial and household life of the machine age.

Artistic production, then, is a form of expression, not of crude emotion but of cultural ideas in concrete emotion-engendering symbols. The artist may produce his work primarily to express himself. In an ideal society he would do this. Or he may do it primarily to gain a livelihood, or social approval, or all three. If he be a genuine artist, the first will be his ruling motive.

Not every expression of emotion is artistic. It must be a significant, well-organized expression. The embodiment of beauty, of majesty, and sublimity or picturesqueness, in color, form, and line, in painting must have an individual completeness; it must be a living whole in order to arouse in the enjoyer the æsthetic emotion. In poetry or noble prose, the emotion of beauty and significance in lyric or ode or drama (as for example Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" or Shelley's "Ode to a Skylark" and "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" or Shakespeare's The Tempest) are evoked by utterances which have a unity of meaning in a vitally organized whole, so that many persons can get from the perusal, permanent delight. There must be an intelligible pattern, a balanced design. In short there must be imagery and concepts compacted into a planned whole that pulsates with meaning. Works of art arouse æsthetic feelings; that is, disinterested and permanently satisfying emotions of delight, wonder, and awe; because, while their materials of imagery and concept are drawn from the common experience, these are ele120

vated and transformed, through selection and arrangement, into living individual wholes that transcend the disordered, incomplete, and inharmonious succession of our actual emotions in the unplanned and in part uncontrollable experiences of everyday life. In this sense, art and æsthetic enjoyment add an ideal grace to life, enrich it by going beyond the actual. preëminently human life is the life of imagination and thought. What distinguishes man from all the animals is his capacity for forming and re-forming images and distilling from them concepts and ideals. The entire creative life of human culture—in all its manifold shapes, from the simplest material techniques (the useful in the applied arts) to the highest poetry, religion, and philosophy—is the outcome of this unique capacity to form, reproduce, break up and re-create in ever new combinations, images. Thus man is delivered from bondage to the routine of sense impressions dictated by his physical environment (though he does not escape bondage to the routine of imagery dictated by social tradition). Thus man is able to create from "three sounds, not a fourth sound but a star."

The creative life is the imaginative life. Whether it be inventing new tools and machine processes, designing buildings or gardens, painting pictures, writing poetry, discovering new relationships in natural processes and social processes (natural science and social sciences), making religions, or constructing cosmic philosophies; or be simply interpreting and living oneself into these forms of culture by thinking and doing: in every case living the creative life, from the greatest

genius to his humblest followers, consists in forming and organizing imagery.

It is through living this spiritual life of imagination that man's crude emotions are transformed (sublimated) into the richer, more significant, more idealized life of the significant emotions and sentiments. As a man imagines and conceives so will he feel. As he feels so will he act and if he does not imagine, he is not a man.

Hence, there is an æsthetic factor in all genuine culture. And an education which stunts, or warps into one-sided exaggeration, the imaginative life, will stunt and warp into one-sided exaggerations the emotional life.

The function of æsthetic creation and æsthetic education are to express, and thus communicate to others, the materials and stimuli of imaginative and emotional experiences that are balanced, well-proportioned, harmonious, and thus make for balanced, well-proportioned, harmonious, beautiful living. The individual must express himself in some way. He is a social being. He must seek to communicate his images and, through these, his emotions. When his imagination is nurtured in an orderly, proportioned, harmonious manner—when the various impulses and appetitions are vividly seen and felt in their relations to one another in the life of the individual and the race—then and only then is the good life being lived.

It is not the function of art to preach sermons, but it is its function to make vivid and concrete the good life, by expressing it in organized and significant forms.

The isolated reproduction, in imaginative forms, of the debased, diseased, degraded in life is not true art. There must, to be art, in either painting or sound (poetry and music) be selection and emphasis. When the selective emphasis is on the degenerative and debasing, it is not art. The ugly, the diseased, the deformed, have their places only as minor contributors to great art—to noble tragedy.

No other English writer has so well expressed the function of beauty in life as Shelley.

Spirit of Beauty. . . .

Thy light alone—like mist o'er mountains driven, Or music by the night wind sent, Thro' strings of some still instrument, Or moonlight on a midnight stream Gives grace and truth to life's unquiet dream.2

And, writing of poetry, he says:

"The great secret of morals is Love; or a going-out of our nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination; and poetry administers to the effect by acting on the cause. Poetry enlarges the circumference of the imagination by replenishing it with thoughts of ever new delight, which have the power of attracting and assimilating to

² "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty."

their own nature all other thoughts, and which form new intervals and interstices whose void for ever craves fresh food. Poetry strengthens the faculty which is the organ of the moral nature of man, in the same manner as exercise strengthens a limb." ³

What Shelley here says of poetry, the greatest because the richest of all arts, the most supple and comprehensive form for the expression of significant emotion wedded to typical and universal ideas, is true of every art form.

Thus the æsthetic experience, whether arising from the creation and contemplation of works of art or from the enjoyment of natural beauty and sublimity, is an indispensable factor in the good life; in the comprehensive and humane sense of this term "good." If morals only mean that the good life consists in conformity to established rules and customs; if to be sober, industrious, economically productive to the maximum, saving, chaste, in action, no matter what our thoughts may be, be the entire sum and substance of the good life; there may be no close relationship between art and morals.

These customs are not to be despised nor sniffed at. But they are far from being sufficient for the good life. One who lives by them alone will find it hard to live by them, unless he be a bloodless and emasculated individual.

Man is a passional dynamic being. His passional life must be satisfied. If this be not done in an

^{3&}quot;A Defense of Poetry." (Quoted from Shelley's Prose Works, Henry Frowde, 1910).

organized, balanced, harmonious fashion, it will happen in a disorganized, unbalanced fashion. There will be inner conflicts, with eruptions or mental disorders.

The cultivation of the æsthetic factor, the satisfaction of the emotions in the experience of beauty, means the development of fineness, fullness, balance in the passional life.

Once again Shelley has spoken the consummate words:

"Poetry is indeed something divine. It is at once the center and circumference of knowledge; it is that which comprehends all science, and that to which all science must be referred. It is at the same time the root and the blossom of all other systems of thought; it is that from which all spring, and that which adorns all; and that which, if blighted, denies the fruit and the seed, and withholds from the barren world the nourishment and the succession of the scions of the tree of life. It is the perfect and consummate surface and bloom of all things; it is as the odor and color of the rose to the texture of the elements which compose it, as the form and splendour of unfaded beauty to the secrets of anatomy and corruption.

"Poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds. We are aware of evanescent visitations of thought and feeling sometimes associated with place or person, sometimes regarding our own mind alone, and always arising unforeseen and departing unbidden, but elevating and delightful beyond all expression: so that even in the desire and regret they leave, there cannot but be

pleasure, participating as it does in the nature of its object. It is as it were the interpenetration of a diviner nature through our own; but its footsteps are like those of a wind over the sea, which the coming calm erases, and whose traces remain only as on the wrinkled sand which paves it. . . .

"Poets are not only subject to these experiences as spirits of the most refined organization, but they can color all that they combine with the evanescent hues of this ethereal world; a word, a trait in the representation of a scene or a passion will touch the enchanted chord, and reanimate, in those who have ever experienced these emotions, the sleeping, the cold, the buried image of the past. Poetry thus makes immortal all that is best and beautiful in the world; it arrests the vanishing apparitions which haunt the interlunations of life, and veiling them, or in language or in form sends them forth among mankind, bearing sweet news of kindred joy to those with whom their sisters abide—abide, because there is no portal of expression from the caverns of the spirit which they inhabit into the universe of things. Poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divine in man.

"Poetry turns all things to loveliness; it exalts the beauty of that which is most beautiful, and it adds beauty to that which is most deformed; it marries exultation and horror, grief and pleasure, eternity and change; it subdues to union under its light yoke all irreconcilable things. It transmutes all it touches, and every form moving within the radiance of its presence is changed by wondrous sympathy to an incarnation

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of the spirit which it breathes: Its secret alchemy turns to potable gold the poisonous waters which flow from death through life; it strips the veil of familiarity from the world and lays bare the naked and sleeping beauty which is the spirit of its forms." 4

It is only in so far as increasing moments of experience can be thus transformed that life becomes satisfying, becomes freely good; good not for what it leads to or promises but richly good in itself.

Thus it is that the development of richer possibilities of creative experience, alike for artist and enjoyer, means the increase of life itself. It is through the enlargement and better organization of the imaginative and reflective life that life as a whole becomes most worth living. Any educational process that crowds out or ignores the imaginative and reflective life, as the truly human enhancement of animal being, is not only not good, it is positively bad. It is illiberal, stunting and thwarting the potencies of the human spirit.

From this point of view we may consider the place of art in our own life.5 Genuine art is the expression and the satisfaction of our emotional-active impulses. All great art is great, just because it yields, in a harmonious, continuous, and fruitful manner, this satisfaction. And any activity that yields rich, full, and abiding satisfaction is artistic. As. Mr. Storck puts it:

"Art in both its phases—i.e., as creation and as experiencing of works already created by others-may

⁵ See the fine chapter in John Storck's Man and Civilization on "Art and the Enjoyment of Life."

be defined as activity in which process and product mutually interpenetrate and determine each other. We have genuine art whenever an activity vields simultaneously a product and a pleasure that are inextricably interwoven; when the same experience functions both as productive—as leading to things outside itself—and as consummatory—as existing for its own sake. A work of art sums up the past and points to the future, as it were, with one complete and satisfying gesture. Any process is artistic in which means and end mutually affect each other, so that activities and aims do not work at cross purposes, but interact and cooperate at every point, in determining the result. A great work of art is a production that is not easily exhausted of its active powers, but contains within itself the ability to furnish ever new consummations, so that it is not a mere dead existence but a living center of satisfying energies." 6

In the past, and still largely in our own present, only a handful of men have been enabled to lead this superlatively good life; when, as in the guilds of medieval cathedral builders, great art has been the native expression of the good life, because men have earned their living in giving expression to their creative impulses. In our mass-production, machine civilization, few can combine earning a livelihood with the creative life; but civilization will not be truly humane and good, in the sense of being the instrument of a social humanism, until men can either have opportunity to make of

⁶ Storck, op. cit., p. 375 (quoted by permission of the publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company).

their work an art or else have larger leisure, opportunity, and training to express their creative and consummatory strivings. To educate for this end, for the filling of life more abundantly with creative and satisfying experiences, is an essential business of education. In this respect education for the rich and satisfying use of leisure must become a great art to enrich the æsthetic life of all men. Thus "Art" will cease to be the monopoly of the few devotees of an esoteric cult and function humanly as the enriching instrument and expression of a fuller, more harmonious, more joyous life for the many.

NOTE ON COLLEGE ATHLETICS

The fundamental trouble with college athletics, particularly with football, the most popular sport, is not that the players may have engaged in semi-professional or professional athletics: is not that often their way is paid at college by interested parties; is not even the publicity and the crowds and the money, harmful though these things may be. The fundamental trouble is that the so-called sports are not conducted as sports, are not forms of play at all. They are conducted as desperately serious forms of warfare, engaged in by the picked champions before crowds of their supporters. The players are trained merely as pawns in the contest which is carried on between the high-salaried generalissimos—the coaches. There is no spontaneity, no fun in the game, the players have not organized the team for the sport of the thing, for recreation. Even the partisans in the stadia conduct their cheering in

organized mechanical fashion under the guidance of cheer leaders. The whole thing is a terribly important mechanically run business—for what?—to furnish an outlet for mob emotions and copy for the sports reporters? The present writer attained some prominence in a very vigorous sport—lacrosse—which he played for the fun of the thing. He has also had many years experience as faculty athletic representative and does not speak as a bespectacled pedant.

CHAPTER XI

THE PLACE OF COLLEGE EDUCATION

The charge is frequently made that the majority of our college students are not interested in their studies, that most of them go to college simply to improve their social and economic positions. I do not believe this charge to be entirely just. I have had thirty years experience as a college teacher. My judgment is that the great majority of the students in our colleges of arts really want to get a liberal education. They, of course, do not know how to get it and often they are not very well advised; either by parents who do not know at all; or by faculty members who are primarily interested in making them scholars in their own subjects; or even by the rules and regulations, since the latter do not invariably express any coherent plan of liberal education. The primary object of the college of liberal arts, as I conceive it, is to enable the student to understand the social culture of which he is a member by birth and nurture, its main features, its values and its weaknesses, in order that he many become an intelligent participator in the conservation and improvement of this culture.

The ruling ideas of our actual social culture rule the colleges. The defects and virtues of our culture appear in the colleges. The crudities and disharmonies of this culture are echoed in its colleges. Our ruling class consists of captains of industry and business plus the great mass of the consumers and producers. Our mechanical civilization has laid increasing emphasis, as it has grown in power, on material things. To make money for his family and his own old age, to improve his family's social status, to join desirable clubs and societies, to enjoy various forms of sport—these have been the ruling ideas of perhaps the majority of successful American men. The number of men disinterestedly concerned for knowledge and beauty has been small among us. When the young man shows a strong inclination to follow art, letters, pure science, or scholarship, he is usually discouraged by his elders, on the ground that there is no money in these pursuits, hence no social power. Financial power and political and social influence have been the great masculine ideals in American society.

American women, on the whole, have more interest in art, letters, and even in pure scholarship than the husbands and brothers. Probably because they have more leisure and are freer from the pressure of the economic mill. How can we expect that college students will be devoted to these profitless cultural interests? Persons of college age have also other interests, naturally—in the other sex and in activities not on the curricula, athletics, dramatics, music.

The majority of American college students are responsive to every live effort to help them get a liberal education. I rather think the seniors in any high-grade college, could frame nearly as good a plan of

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liberal education as the faculty (perhaps a better one).

Faculty members often are too prone to regard their own subjects as the most important (this is human, of course). They are often deficient in some of the elements of a liberal education. Many of them could not be otherwise. Living on narrow means, in a society which does not value disinterested liberal scholarship but in which "research" is rated above its proper value in a body of undergraduate teachers, and lacking in dynamic personalities, they become, for the sake of advancement, narrow specialists. The "Ph. D. fetish," as William James called it, is one of the factors making for poor teaching. It is assumed that one who has gained this degree, by research, is thereby qualified to teach. As a matter of fact he may be ignorant and illiberal, knowing practically nothing outside the subject in which he received his degree and devoid of insight or interest in the general problems of education. He may be temperamentally unfitted to teach.1

Our college students, in the mass, are hampered by inadequate preparation. Our public secondary school education is often so loose and superficial, that many students come to college with oddments of knowledge and slipshod mental habits. Many of them do not know the difference between knowing and not knowing. For the general public, our master, expects the high schools to graduate everybody. Our false notion of democracy is that, since all are to have equal op-

¹ I am not undervaluing research. The best teachers are those who combine the impetus to research and the power of awakening in others the intellectual flame.

portunity, everybody may go to college, if he can find the means. True democracy in education is that every one, regardless of his parents' financial means, shall have the opportunity to develop his individual powers as far as he is capable of going.

In the educational process we are too indiscriminate. We fail to separate, by effective methods of selection, those who should go to college from those who should go into practical work that does not require college training. This is where the initial mistake is made. It is too easy to get into college, but hard enough to stay in a good one. Practically, the only basis of selection now is whether the student can find the means to continue at school. Some who deserve to go to college cannot do so for lack of means, or, if they do go, are greatly handicapped by the necessity of earning their way, or by inadequate preparation or both.

It is, indeed, a moving and inspiring spectacle to see a whole great nation valuing education so highly, even if they do so, blindly and, in part, unwisely. It is a not wholly fatuous tribute to education to believe that it is the surest means of social and economic advancement. I do not share the view that ambition for social and economic advancement is a despicable ideal. On the contrary, I think it is a good ideal which is overworked. I do not admit that the primary object of the undergraduate college is to make creative scholars and researchers. Colleges are social agencies. Their chief functions are to minister to the maintenance and improvement of our civilization. Of course research is a great instrument; both of practical advancement

and of spiritual enrichment. An ideal civilization would be one in which every one would both participate in and understand the benefits of applied science, both in industry and in social administration; and in which no one capable of research or productive work in science, the fine arts and letters or scholarship would be disbarred therefrom by economic handicap.

The present rapid expansion of the colleges and universities is the expression of an impulse towards the realization of this ideal civilization, to a greater degree than has ever before occurred in the history of mankind. We may be following it unintelligently, but we, as a nation, are fired by the ideal of a democratic and humane civilization. Europeans may laugh at us and point to our crudeness, and shallowness, but where else on this earth is there so good a chance for the youth, in all economic strata, to realize their capacities? Even now, ineffective as the colleges are, a keen student can find satisfaction for his aptitudes.

Unless we suffer some economic setback, this movement will grow. Where it is at fault is in its indiscriminativeness, its failure to select those who are really qualified for a full college education.

The well-established colleges and universities (whether state or privately endowed) should set their standards of admission and retention high. They should be open only to those whose abilities are decidedly above the minimum required for high school graduation. (I do not undertake to determine where the line should be drawn. It should be flexible, to provide for those who have been handicapped by poverty or bad schooling.) In addition, the entrants should give evidence of seriousness of purpose and ability to profit by further education.

The junior colleges could take the rest. Moreover, increased provision should be made for adult education. For, after all, only a beggarly beginning of education can be made in the school and college years, even with superior ability and preparation.

The American ideal expressed in free public education is a noble and moving one—that each succeeding generation should rise above its elders in knowledge and culture. But, as this ideal is applied at present, it is too wasteful. For the attempt to educate all equally, to give to all the same education in quantity and quality, results actually in watering down the quality of educational work to the minimum of which those who are not literally imbeciles are capable. The most striking feature of our present educational system is the rapid increase in the size of the student bodies in high schools and colleges.

This increase in attendance is the expression of two forces: (1) increased prosperity of the mass of the people, and (2) the spread of the desire to rise in the social scale. The latter is not an unworthy ambition. But, as it works out at present, it involves much waste of time and energy and either lower standards of education, or heartburning and the sense of defeat for many of the pupils. Too large a proportion of our high school graduates enter the colleges, either to acquire a start in some profession or a worthless smattering of liberal education. There is no uniformity in standards

for either professional or higher liberal education. The weaker private institutions and the state universities admit, almost indiscriminately, the graduates of high schools; the former because they are weak financially and seek students, the latter because they are compelled by law. The state universities are frequented chiefly by three classes of students: (1) those inferior students who are not qualified to enter the better grade of privately supported colleges and universities; (2) those superior students who are unable financially to attend the more expensive high-grade privately endowed institutions, (3) and of course there are a considerable number in the state universities who attend because of the superiority of the institution in various lines.

Taking the whole situation into account, there is some waste of time and effort. Good human material for business and industry and agricultural pursuits is wasted to make inferior physicians, engineers, teachers, lawyers, journalists.

The waste is least defensible in the state universities which maintain fairly high standards. It is a notorious fact, known to all discriminating teachers, that graduation from a high school may mean little more than that the pupil has stayed through the course and behaved himself fairly well. Why should the public money be wasted in the attempt to teach the unteachable, who will either have to drop out of the university or else, if nursed along, will be launched as inferior products at the expense of the state? It is a sentimentalist perversion of democracy to maintain expensive publicly

supported institutions to teach everybody who comes along, under the mistaken notion that by a university degree his economic and social status will undergo some magic transmutation. The state universities should have autonomous power to determine their conditions of entrance. They should be maintained to supply practically free, higher education to the superior products of the public schools—not to all.²

Besides the waste involved in trying to teach the unteachable, there are the retardation of those of superior ability, and the heartburning and sense of defeat that come to those who have been allowed, mistakenly, to attempt work for which their school records indicated their incapacity. When a large proportion of the students are thrown out for failure, that means either lax conditions of entrance or failure in the educational work of the college, or both.

After all, the majority of human beings are not passionately interested in finding and enjoying truth at any stage of their careers. I think that, if one has the sentiment or passion for truth in any considerable measure, it increases in strength as he matures and is strongest in the later years; provided it be not crushed out by adverse circumstances. It is certainly a mistake to assume, as do both the critics of colleges and many teachers, that it is strongest in the years of adolescence and young manhood and womanhood. I repeat, our colleges are, fundamentally, products and not causes

²I am not discussing the trade and vocational schools which now constitute the major portions of many of the universities. But the same principles apply to them.

of our entire social culture. We expect too much of college education, when we demand that it take the young out of an environment dominated by economic and mechanistic powers and make them over, en masse, into devotees of truth and idealistic ethics. A good college can do much but it cannot transmogrify its materials, when these materials have already been given a bent by the world in which they live.

Our youth are freer from hypocrisy, cant, compromise, and materialism than their elders. But they cannot escape the pressure of the social influences in which they have been nurtured. If they see their elders interested primarily in money-making and rather crude amusements, they cannot be expected to be saved, by some miracle, from these influences. No amount of blather will alter the fact that only a rather small minority of human beings can be induced to think in a sustained and disinterested fashion. Thinking is very untrustworthy unless it be disinterested; that is, not beclouded and twisted by passion. Most human beings think only in so far as it is necessary to satisfy their appetites, passions and personal affections. Even then they do not think very successfully. would greatly conduce to the efficiency of the schools and colleges if administrators and the general public would recognize that a higher liberal education is for a minority only; that the attempt to give it to all who are able to get graduation certificates from high schools only makes a farce of it and wastes the time and money of pupils and their parents, as well as the teachers' time. But, at present, there is small hope of this

recognition. What is more likely is that the stronger colleges and universities, having established really effective standards of selection, the remainder will become in effect, junior colleges or advanced high schools, although granting degrees.

CHAPTER XII

ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES

The administrator of education must supervise the material equipment, teaching personnel, and conduct of the school. He must determine what is needed, in the way of buildings, equipment, and playgrounds and get the people to supply the means therefor. He must put first the quality of the teaching personnel and next to this the provision of the most favorable conditions for the teachers and students to do their work. He must see that the teachers are not so burdened with work that they are always fatigued and without surplus time and energy for self-improvement and recreation; that they have classes small enough to enable them to study and know the individualities of their pupils; that they have the freedom of initiative and security of tenure, without which the teacher cannot do good work; finally, that their pay be sufficient to enable them to do good work and to use their vacation periods for refreshing travel and study.

The burdens of the educational administrator are manifold, heavy, and distracting, more so than those of the conscientious teacher. All the more necessary then is it for the administrator to keep in mind the ideal that "administration is for ministration"; that administration is for teaching, and teaching is for the

liberation and coöperant fruition of human powers, for the consorting and harmonizing of all the normal impulses, capacities, and aptitudes of human nature with all things good and true and beautiful that are possible to human nature.

The hugeness of the task which confronts public education in these States to-day makes it exceedingly difficult to bring to effect the educational ideals sketched in this book. Our material prosperity has gone forward by leaps and bounds; our urban population has increased very rapidly; automobile transport has facilitated the concentration of pupils in rural districts into township schools. All these factors have contributed to the enormous increase in our school attendance. In the twenty-two years, 1900-22, the number of pupils in public secondary schools more than quadrupled. The ratio of registrants in the high schools to the total population of high school age is approximately 1 to 3. In California in 1925 there were 59 high school pupils for every 1000 of the population. In no other country, except perhaps Canada, is this ratio approached.

The costs of buildings and salaries mount rapidly. The difficulty of securing a sufficient number of competent teachers waxes amain. Unless education in our democracy is to become a farce we must not only have more teachers but better. We must demand higher standards of ability and experience and pay more. No teacher worthy of his hire teaches for hire. One who does so is either a fool or a fraud. But there is a minimum efficiency wage for good teaching.

When that is not forthcoming the proper personnel will not be forthcoming.

The fundamental problem remains—to get and keep dynamic and well-equipped teachers and to keep classes small enough for individual contact. It is the same problem all along the line, from the primary grade to the university.

The greatest danger that confronts us to-day is the substitution in education of machinery, method, system, organization for Personality.

We have altogether too much formal teaching-not only too much poor teaching, relatively, but too much routine teaching absolutely. The two gravest defects of the form of American education, from the secondary school through the undergraduate college (and even beyond) are: (1) the acquisition of credits by piecing together a helter-skelter of little piecemeal courses—term courses, quarter courses, without a concerted program aimed at the mastery of a subject as a whole; and (2) the excessive number of hours or periods spent by the pupils in formal recitation or supervised study. The remedy for the first evil is to give credits for subjects studied and not for term hours. The remedy for the second evil is to reduce the amounts of time and work in the classroom, to put more responsibility on the pupil, to give more rein to initiative, to private work.

Our American students are too much spoon fed. The motto is small and frequent doses of prepared medicine administered by the nurse (the teacher). our schools and colleges need to be reformed by letting the students dig things out for themselves, with suggestion and help, of course, from the teacher.

Let them read, experiment, express themselves in talk, in writing, in laboratory, and art work. Let the teacher be primarily leader and adviser, not just imparter of information in small doses.

No one really knows anything or acquires any skill, if he has not done it for himself—hunted up and formulated in his own words the knowledge or made the thing.

Let us have less formal instruction and more suggestive leadership and guidance from teachers, in order that pupils may develop their powers of thought, expression, and action by doing things on their own hook. To search historical works and write an essay on a great event or character, to retell and discuss a play or a novel, are just as much *doing*, as to model a figure, to paint a picture, to construct a miniature house—provided they are *done by*, not *for*, the pupil.

It cannot be said too often, or too emphatically, that the whole function of education is to enable the individual mind (there is in reality no other kind of *mind* or *thinker*) to select and organize, by its own activity, the raw materials of knowledge presented in the several studies. No one knows anything that he cannot use in some way. Power to use the materials of knowledge comes through the building up of images and concepts in the individual's mind.

Every individual must build up his own world, by imagination, conceptual thinking, and manual activity. If he does not, he becomes merely a passive chip car-

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ried hither and von by the currents and eddies of his environment. We make ourselves in the image of our physical and social environment. The social environment is the paramount influence. If we are to be effective agents, doers, directors of our own welfare and contributors to the welfare of other persons; we must build up a world by the formation of images and concepts and the modification of our impulses and emotions by these images and concepts, so that we can do our bits to the advantage of society and find personal satisfaction in so doing. And we make our private world of feeling, imagination, and thought, for good or for ill, by the ways in which we select and organize the imaginative and conceptual patterns of action aroused in us by our responses to our environments. The very physical world we live in is shot through, and largely made, by the social coöperation of individual minds. Man's picture of his physical environment is fashioned in the likeness of the prevailing picture of the physical world in the social culture from which he draws his mental nutriment. Let any one who doubts this statement, reconstruct and compare the pictures of the world made by science and technology to-day with the pre-evolutionary, pre-Copernican, Chinese, Chaldean, East Indian, and American Indian world pictures. The social world is even more a product of the interactions of minds. What we do or fail to do depends on the way in which the idea of the social world, in which we must live, takes shape in our minds. The shape our social world takes depends, first, on the stimuli and patterns

of thought and action which stir us to picture, to conceive, and to feel; and, secondly, on our own overt responses consequent upon our picturing, conceiving, and feeling.

Each individual makes his own world and, in making it, makes or unmakes his personality. But the world he makes is fashioned out of his native responses to social stimuli. In this sense, not only formal education, but the whole of active living, is a personalitybuilding process (or in evil case a personality-tearingdown process).1 To sum it up: we make ourselves by our responses to the social environment. This includes the social heritage offered to us in formal education as well as in the rest of our living. Only those parts of the total social heritage which will enable us to build up personalities that will contribute to social welfare should be offered by education. For while we make ourselves by responses conditioned by our original natures, what we make of ourselves is determined also by the stimuli, the patterns which incite and give shape and direction to our responses. Living is the incessant give-and-take of social stimulation and individual response. Personality is the continuous fusion of these two factors. Education must offer to the individual stimuli and patterns of response, that will enable that individual to respond in such ways that his personality is actively integrated in forms and directions that make him socially useful.

¹ As E. C. Moore puts it so pithily: "The object of education is to enable the individual to get such a grip upon himself and the world of men and things that he can use what he has learned in making his life function in socially profitable ways."

Education, like all other living, is a continuous experimental process. It is *not* trying to fit the young to some cast-iron pattern. It is *not* throwing him at large into a miscellaneous rummage-shop world. Education is finding the socially useful, or at the least, the socially harmless patterns of social culture that will enable *this individual* to find himself as a member of a progressive society. To find himself is to find what he can do and get satisfaction, respect and the good will of others in the doing of it.

The older American liberal individualism of the fathers and the pioneers is rapidly fading away. We are, as a people, becoming more and more standardized, organized, systematized. We are being run by card indices, systems, rules, schedules in industry, business, and public life generally. We even have "days" to stimulate our love for our parents and children (but really to get us, like a flock of sheep, to buy more flowers, etc.).

System and standardization are in danger of ruling in our education, as in our economic life. We have large classes in enormous schools. The teaching program is divided into grades and subgrades, and periods. The pupil's schedule is an inharmonious mosaic of period-snippets from a bewildering variety of subjects. The teachers are moved, like pawns on a chess board, to keep the schedule full. A teacher teaches a period of this, that and the other subject, from prescribed textbooks. The pupil does not continuously pursue any particular subject, nor have continuously from year to year a few experienced teachers. The

teacher and the pupil are fitted into the time schedule of an educational cafeteria.

The whole system is presided over by a principal who is, by delegated power, an autocrat, subject to the direction of a higher autocrat, the superintendent, who is delegated by a board of education to run the educational department store in business-like fashion. He must be a good politician and business manager. That he should be a scholar is of no importance; indeed, it may be a handicap.

Education is acquired in school, and in college too, by accumulating a prescribed number of coupons, each of which bears a certain time value in credit hours. Thus the educational department store is run, like any other department store or factory, on a time-clock basis. Punching the time card becomes the organizing principle of the system.

What results! The loss of individuality and continuity in the teacher's work; the loss of the continuous stimulation of a vigorous mature individuality. If teaching be not a spiritual interaction, a vital communion between significant individual souls, it is worthless and worse than worthless. It is harmful.

The only justification for teaching and education is the electric current generated by the living contact of mind with mind.

Our educational system, as it grows larger, tends to deprive the educational process of *continuity* and *coherence* in subject matter and to reduce the living influence of individuality to a minimum. The system is mechanized. The teacher loses spontaneity and the

pupil's spontaneity is not enkindled. His mind is distracted by being evanescently made the dumping ground for a very miscellaneous assortment of facts, near facts, dubious facts, and odds and ends of general ideas. Education becomes a garment of shreds and patches, which soon falls to pieces.

Even in our colleges and universities we try to make up for deficiences, in personnel and insight, by rules. We try to overcome that lack of interest or capacity which is expressed in very low passing grades by supplementing marks by points. Those who have a certain proportion of D's, the lowest passing grade, are not permitted to graduate, because they are deficient in points. A much simpler method would be to eliminate the low passing mark altogether. In the colleges and universities we try to prevent students from taking an utter hodgepodge of courses by prerequisites, group requirements, majors, and minors. All these are methods designed to cure the effects of the lack of continuity, coherence, organization of material, and good standards of work in the secondary schools. In all these respects our schools and colleges reflect our superstitious belief in the power of laws, regulations, systems, methods to run themselves. Things will not run themselves in stores and factories, nor in legislative halls and courts. Much less will regulations and systems operate themselves in education, which is essentially a spiritual process of living communion between mind and mind, an electric spark playing from soul to soul.

Is there any escape from the deadening, mind-

paralyzing, spirit-destroying rule of "system" in modern education?

Yes. We can reduce the number of subjects offered and still retain a sufficiently wide latitude of choice for all the variations of native capacity and interest in the pupils.

We can insist on more continuity and interrelation in the courses of study. We can provide for more continuity in the work of teachers, by giving them fewer subjects to be taught by the same individual in successive grades. Instead of having teachers of "grades," we should have teachers of subjects. We can reduce the place of the required textbook.

We have greatly overdone the textbook business. Partly, because it is the easiest way to prescribe a book and have the pupils recite parrot-like; partly through the undue influence of publishing houses. For them there is big money in getting state-wide and city-wide adoption of their texts.

Our educational system results, to too great an extent, in turning the educative process into the transitory and inaccurate acquisition, by the pupils, of an incoherent assemblage of strings of raw facts, that oftentimes are not so, without insight into their relations and meaning. What it should result in is in stimulating the pupils to reflect, to see meanings, relations, to put two and two together, to learn to generalize, to grasp the significant relations of processes and their results in nature, in industry, in social life and in the conduct of their own lives. The present method of offering a very varied curriculum with nearly unlimited

liberty of choice every term is the cafeteria method. There should be substituted for it a limited number of *table d'hôte* educational repasts, suited to a variety of digestions, but each consisting of a balanced ration.

In the schools there should be a number of organized curricula. In primary education these should include the fundamentals, with some latitude for the free play of the various aptitudes—manual, artistic, and literary—of the pupils; in secondary education there should be different, but *organized*, curricula for those who are not to go to college and for those who are.

More emphasis should be laid on work done by the pupil—essays, laboratory work, literary efforts, artistic efforts—and less on term credits by examinations. There should be general leaving examinations (on *subjects*, *not on term work*) for those desiring to graduate from secondary schools.

In colleges and universities, except in the elements of languages, mathematics, history, and the sciences, where it is necessary to lay, step by step, factual foundations, the comprehensive final examinations should be put in operation.

Much fuss is made over the dangers of centralization of power and the evils of bureaucracy. It is still the fashion to hymn the praises of local autonomy, to laud the self-initiative and self-government and local pride that comes from the community's control over its own affairs. And so, grave fears are expressed that the local impulse to educational progress will be extinguished by a Federal Department of Education—a tyrannical educational bureaucracy, introducing politics

into education. The worshipers of localism forget that Federal aid has stimulated state and local initiative in road building. The work of the Department of Agriculture has stimulated agriculture and stock-breeding. Have these stimulations increased small-minded and crooked politics? On the contrary, local initiative and pride in educational progress would be stimulated by higher standards to be reached in order that Federal aid be forthcoming.

The fact is, as unprejudiced and knowing ones recognize, the smaller the independent unit the greater the danger, both of petty politics and lack of vision and insight in administration. Persons unfit to teach or administer are teaching and administering in many schools and districts, because there are not enough people with initiative and vision in these districts to realize the necessity of higher standards and higher pay. It is cheaper and less trouble to get teachers who are not intellectually above the level of stagnant communities than to secure teachers who may raise the level. It is easier for a superintendent or principal to hold his job in such communities without high standards or ideals. He does not have to ask for better teachers, if he can employ poor material as teachers. The poor material in the teaching staff will, to say the least, not be keen to have standards raised. The community moves, educationally, in a vicious circle, from which it can be rescued only by the imposition of higher standards upon it by the larger unit. The most progressive states, educationally, are the states with the highest average of intelligence, the states whose central boards have the greatest power of regulating educational standards in the local school districts.

Education can become the efficient profession it should be, only when the best teachers and administrators support the movement for higher standards enforced by the states and backed up by the Federal government. The time is past when any community should be left by the state authorities to rot in its own educational backwater. And why should the federal administration have important, highly-organized departments to foster commerce, agriculture, cattle and hog breeding, and none to foster the cultivation of better human minds?

Of course we are attempting in this country to carry education farther along in the life of youth, to a larger proportion of the youth than has ever been attempted before in large highly civilized communities or than is now being done elsewhere. American public education is not primarily selective, but democratic and universal in its aims. Its object is to give anything they may fancy, or that it is fancied by educators that they may like, to everybody. Education in Europe is selective. Its purpose, beyond the minimum required for literacy, is to give further education only to those who show aptitude for it. Could we combine the two aims? Is it not possible to offer to all a decent minimum without sacrificing the exceptionally gifted? It is; but the combination of these two aims would cost more in money, effort, and sound judgment than we have yet given to public education. It would require more insight, more grasp of the relationships of educational

fundamentals and more firmness on the part of our leaders and executives.

The present wholesale method is the cheapest, and, by virtue of its indiscriminativeness, it does not outrage that sentimentalist democratic ideal which assumes that we are all equally well fitted to go as far as we like in the educational march.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION AND CIVILIZATION

H. G. Wells has said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. He is right. The stresses and strains to which civilization is now subject are terrific. It may be that education will be powerless to lighten these and that our civilization will decay as did the Mesopotamian, Syrian, Græco-Roman, Arabic, and others. Education is the only prophylactic. I will summarize the chief of these stresses and

I will summarize the chief of these stresses and strains and what education may do to relieve them:

I. In the past one hundred years, there have taken place more revolutionary and pervasive changes in man's relation to the forces of nature than in the entire previous history of the race. These changes in dealing with external nature have produced revolutionary changes in man's dealings with his fellow men. Consider, for example, what revolutionary changes in human relations are being produced by the general use of the automobile and radio. Through the discoveries of natural science and their applications in industry man has increased, more than a thousandfold, his command over the forces of inanimate nature. He has harnessed to his use, coal, minerals, water power, gasoline, electricity and radio-active processes. Through biological discoveries he has greatly increased

his power of growing food and of conquering disease. He has lengthened his own life and enormously improved the material conditions of his living. What have been the results? Greater ease and comfort of living, even sumptuous living for the middle class; increase in the speed of locomotion and communication; a world-wide, intense competition between national economic groups; a vastly greater power of destruction, as of conservation, both of life and of the products of human industry, shown in the World War and to be more terribly effective in the next great war. Even in peace destructive forces are at work through the strain, haste, and unrest of our ever increasing urbanized living.

2. The struggle for social democracy which, in the measure in which it has been successful, has raised the question whether democracy is a great blunder, whether it can carry on, or is headed for suicide and must not inevitably issue in the dictatorship of a minority. It would not be fair to judge democracy by the Russian experiment, since there was in Russia, when the Revolution of 1917 occurred, neither general enlightenment nor even a moderately developed industrial civilization. Even the Italian situation is not a crucial instance. Italy was not really prepared for democracy. Still less significant is Spain's case.

But the United States, rich, progressive, with universal education, with experience in self-government from its beginnings, shows many ominous symptoms. Some of these are: (a) the growth of religious and racial intolerance; (b) the increase in successful law-lessness, with the failure of the courts of justice and

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the jury system to function with moderate efficiency; (c) the failure to reduce the corruption and inefficiency in our public administration; (d) the grave defects of our educational system which seems, instead of mitigating the other evils, only to add to our moral and social confusions; (e) the crudeness and grossness of our use of surplus wealth and leisure in amusements and recreations; the contents of our newspapers, popular magazines and books, theaters, movies and music; and (f) the increase in suicides, moral delinquencies and mental disorders. The apparent increase in crimes committed by young people, between the ages of 17 and 25, and the increase in mental disorders of the dementia præcox type, indicate that the pace is too swift, the strain too severe for many in this period of storm and stress and that our education is largely a failure. For adolescence and youth are the most difficult periods in life. [Along with the maturation of the sex impulse comes a much keener social sensitiveness, a heightening of the ego consciousness.

At the critical period the youth must face and master hundreds of stimuli. There are some indications that an increasing proportion of the young are growing up without developing the moral restraints and inhibitions necessary to a life individually happy and socially useful. The demand for self-expression, for living one's own life, issues often in the throwing away of all restraints, in the gratification of impulses which lead at the worst to positive criminality, or at least to inner disorder, to a deep schism in the life of the self. (Every teacher of adolescents should have a knowledge of the

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psychical and moral difficulties that arise in that period; should have a knowledge of the physiology and psychology of adolescence and of the mental aberrations that are liable to arise in this critical period. Every general physician should have more of such knowledge. A psychiatric expert should be available for every high school and college student.

(I have already insisted that an ethical philosophy of life, combining self-reverence and a sense of social obligation must be inculcated in the schools. It cannot be left to the homes alone. Without such a philosophy we may turn out clever criminals and cunning but disordered minds. It may be doubtful whether there has been much actual increase in the proportion of mental disorders in the population. Statistics indicate that there has been an increase but this may be due to the fact that more care is provided for the mentally disordered and better records kept.

It is frequently charged that there has been, of late years, a moral decline among the elders and a lack of moral development in the youth. It is not possible to say whether there has been an increase of sexual looseness. The frankness with which sex relations are now dicussed is not proof that there has been such increase. The opportunities for sexual looseness have increased and the restraints upon it have weakened. It is doubtful whether there has been an increase in dishonesty—in lying, stealing, and crimes of violence that have their origin in stealing. The crime wave is perhaps largely a wave of crime news. The automobile has made getaways more successful for criminals. If there has been

a moral decline, its causes are, doubtless, increasing laxness in home training and the weakening influence of the home, the increase of self-indulgent and luxurious living among the elders, and probably too, the decline in religious sanctions. The latter is due, in part, to the spread of a materialistic philosophy of life. But, I believe it is due in greater part to the increase in wealth and luxury, to practical materialism rather than to theoretical materialism.

The task of education, in this respect, is a very heavy one to-day. More and more the burden of moral training is put off on the school. I have already discussed this subject and need do no more here than reiterate the tremendous importance of emphasizing, in work and in play, honesty, self-control, faithfulness, fair play, and coöperation as the conditions of a happy and useful life.

We have altogether to much individualism of a bad sort—the anarchistic individualism which regards all human impulses and appetites as on the same level and having equal right to expression and satisfaction. This rejection of all moral standards, this failure to see that man is a hierarchical being, whose impulses and desires are not all equally entitled to satisfaction, is justified in the name of democracy and science. It is false and mischievous. There can be no lasting happiness or well-being for the individual nor good for society, unless the individual learns that his various impulses have different values, that they are not on the same level; that some are to be subordinated, some to be suppressed.

The widespread confusion of thought and the rejec-

tion of all moral principles have found cover and excuse in the perversion of the teachings of biology, Freudian psychology, and behaviorism. This reduction of man to a level below the animals has been spread by our popular sophists of the baser sort—essayists and novelists, who purvey for an ignorant and gullible public, meretricious and pretentious trash, under the name of science.

It seems probable that the staring publicity given to crimes of violence and the deeds of disordered minds in the public press and the depiction of violence in the movies, too, exercise a suggestive power over these unstable and disordered minds, particularly the young, who are trembling on the verge of criminally insane outbreaks

All human beings are suggestible. Those whose minds are not stabilized are the most suggestible. The publicity given to violence, to crimes of degenerates against persons and property, stimulate the unhealthy minds. The craving for publicity itself is so easily satisfied, and so accentuated, to-day. The talk of preachers, moralists, and journalists about the moral revolt of youth, "our flaming youth", etc., ad nauseam, is calculated to stimulate the youth to live up to the reputation given them.

U Human beings, even the young have not changed fundamentally in these latter years. The basic impulses, desires, ambitions, are the same as those of the elder generation, in their youth. What has changed is the enormously increased impact, on the youth, of sensational and sophisticated trash. Day by day, our

eyes are bombarded with stories and pictures of crime, degeneracy, corruption, filth, silly and harmful talk about the new freedom, self-expression, companionate marriage, complexes and the evils of repression.)

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At no time in the history of western civilization have the plastic and growing youth been subjected to such rapid and violent changes in modes of living as have taken place during the past thirty years. What rapid alterations have occurred in the mechanics and economics of living, the methods of producing and distributing goods, the means of locomotion and communication, habits of living, congestion in cities, night life, the universal distribution of mechanical instruments of amusement (the movie, the phonograph, the radio) etc. All these things are producing changes in human behavior. The automobile alone has involved radical readjustments in the organism. Peaceful, quiet, leisurely meditative life is either not possible or at best very hard to practice. These things are bound to affect the youth. One might say that the only thing that is constant to-day is the acceleration with which change takes place. What does not change are the original impulsive forces of human nature. The problem is-how can these native forces become adapted to this complex, confused, swiftly changing world, without disaster? How can the natural impulses be organized for sanity, balance, harmony in living?

What can education do for this civilization in this critical age?

Jural. Education must develop in the young a keener

sense of social obligation—of their privileges and responsibilities as custodians of the lamp of humanity's cultural progress. They must learn that our boasted mechanical progress is like giving young children high explosives to play with, unless they keep steadily in mind the subjection of mechanics and science to universally human ends. Applied science is humanly and morally neutral. Its great powers may be used for good or for ill. In order that these powers may be used for good, the youth must be enkindled with an intelligent devotion to the cause of a qualitatively richer humane civilization. They must develop the conviction that the true end of our physical progress is a better balanced, more harmonious, and fuller human life-not merely more comforts, more speed, and more people; but more intelligent, better balanced people.

We shall not progress, but lose ground, unless the youth gain the conviction that nationalistic imperialism and every form of group egotism, whether political, capitalistic, or laborite, must be outlawed and suppressed. The way to world peace is not through the extinction of nationalism. While recognizing the necessity and the good of national cultures it must be effectively recognized, by solemn covenants to outlaw nationalistic and commercial imperialism, that nationality is a human good only in so far as it contributes to the cultural stability and progress of the race.¹

¹ See Joseph A. Leighton, *The Individual and the Social Order*, Chap. XLVI.

It is essential to a better education that the defects of our actual democracy should be so burned into the minds of the young that they will strive more persistently to eradicate them, than their elders have done. Universal suffrage is a mistake without intelligence and ethical insight in the electorate. If we cannot get rid of it, then we must try the harder to raise the mass. A civic intelligence qualification should be required of all prospective voters, as well as evidence of faithful discharge of the franchise as the condition of its continued possession. Tour to fax 172

(We must give up trying to elect so many of our public officials by direct vote. We must be content to have a check, a means of recall, on the major officials-governors, legislatures, mayors, or city managers. For the rest, we shall retrograde unless we install a body of competent and faithful experts. Democracy ought not to mean that any one who can get enough votes, is the fit man for the place—fit to be a judge, a civic or educational administrator. If the teachers in colleges were elected to their positions by the students we would get rid of some dead wood in the faculties, but we would not get many of the best scholars and ablest teachers. And yet youth is perhaps more discerning than the average political electorate. Properly, democracy means a career open to every talent, not every career open to any old talent.

EPILOGUE

HUMANISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

There is one note of agreement that runs through all the disagreements and conflicts of the present time -it is agreed that civilization is in a bad way. But when we ask what brought civilization into this sorry mess, and how it is to be gotten out of it, the disagreements come very lively. The standpatter says that our present troubles are due to the unreasonable demands of organized labor, the destruction of wealth by the war, the unwillingness of men to work and the spread of socialism. The so-called radical says that the troubles of civilization, including the war, are the results of the capitalistic control of the natural resources and the instruments of production, which control is wielded primarily for the sake of profits and of private aggrandizement. It is interesting to note the respective attitudes of these two classes of extremists with respect to education. The standpatter confuses open-minded liberalism with radicalism. Therefore, he is likely to accuse college professors who try to weigh social problems and theories in a candid and enquiring spirit, of being radicals. The radical regards the universities as capitalistically controlled centers for the perpetuation of capitalistic civilization, and the professors as cringing dogs who lick up the crumbs that

fall from their masters' tables. Neither of these groups has any use for a thoughtful open-minded liberalism. The first believes the true social function of education to be to insure the preservation of private industrialism and capitalism; the second considers the true function of education to be to clear away the debris of our decaying capitalistic civilization, in order to make a wholly fresh start with some form of socialism. Thus, education and the educators are failures from the viewpoints of both extremists.

I propose that we make a declaration of independence and carry the war into the enemies' territories. I propose that we deny that it is the primary business of education either to bolster up or to tear down any economic system. I propose, further, that we affirm that the ills of society will be most effectively mitigated by shifting the emphasis of public interest and activity from economic enterprise and problems to educational enterprise. So long as economic and political problems and activities are given the first place in our national life and education the second or third place, just so long are we, in our national and international life, putting the cart before the horse. How can we, in this day of complex and confusing problems, expect to establish and maintain justice, common welfare, order, and harmony, if, in our engrossing concern to produce and acquire more material goods, we neglect to nurture our citizens in the principles and habits of thoughtfulness, mutual consideration and fair play, community of purpose, and the spirit of coöperation? "If our citizens are well educated, they will readily see their way through other matters; a good education is the best safeguard." ¹

Plato rightly conceives good government to be the consequence of right education, not education a mere subsidiary function of government. The state that effectively puts in practice Plato's principle will be the first great humanistic state. This is why Plato "would crown the teacher, vigorously trained for his high vocation, as King and Sovereign Lord: he would make the work of kingship consist in the molding of men's minds, 'until they are godlike,' according to the example of the ideal Good, the ideal Beautiful, the ideal Truth, which the king-teacher has come to know." And the king-teachers rule by serving. They live, not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

This is the faith that lies at the roots of our American system of free public education. We are very far from living up to it, but it is the vital spring of what is best in American education. It still survives through our gross Mammon worship, and, bursting into a great spiritual flame, it may yet save the Republic.

Teachers are the most essential servants of society. Without good teachers, politicians, lawyers, captains of finance and industry are worthless, or worse. As Mr. Barker finely says, "They [teachers] are the mediators in that consorting and harmonizing of the mind with things good and true and beautiful, which is education; they carry the torch and tip with flame

Plato, The Republic, 416-d, 423-d to e.

² Ernest Barker, Hibbert Journal, Vol. 21, (No. 3, 1923), p. 477.

the outstretched unlit torches of the young. . . . Ministration is prior to administration." The state is primarily a society of minds, a community of minds concerned with educational problems. "The concern of a community which is a community of minds, is essentially with mind and education. The way in which that concern is expressed is a deep matter; it is concerned with knowledge, but it is also concerned with taste and conduct. It is a preparation for work; but it is also a preparation for leisure." 4

The chief causes of the present sorry plight of civilization are two: (1) the enormous and overwhelming development of large-scale industrialism with its rampant commercialism and over-specialization, uncontrolled and unchecked by regard for the humane values of applied science and industry; and (2) the failure of liberal education to catch up with the economic revolution.

I cannot take time here even to outline all the social consequences of large-scale industrialism aiming at quantity production. It has, of course, led to the monopolistic combination of labor against the monopolistic combination of capital, both organized as fighting units; not as coöperating social agencies. The aggregation of men in the industrialized cities has accentuated the mass spirit. It has caused the decline of individual interest and responsibility in work. It has overemphasized the money nexus as the bond of society. It has produced a nervous unrest. It has sub-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

⁴ Ibid., p. 491.

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stituted for a broad humane outlook narrow specialistic class interests.

I believe that the dominance of the commercial and industrial spirit has been chiefly responsible for the failure of liberal education, for the rise and spread of the free elective system or rather lack of system, first in the colleges and then in the schools; and thus for the disappearance of any central purpose or guiding principle in our education. It is no accident that the gradual disappearance of any coherent plan for liberal education in our colleges and schools has been coincident in time with the rise of this nation to industrial preëminence; it is no accident that in Germany, with a much stronger humanistic tradition, the great industrial development resulted in the obscuration of its noble, classical, and humane traditions. The ever increasing emphasis on the natural sciences, especially on chemistry and physics, both in Germany and in America, but particularly in America, has not been chiefly the result of any deep passion for the pure and unadulterated truth in regard to nature; it has been chiefly the result of a belief in the commercial value of these studies. Latin, Greek, Philosophy, History, and Literature have been regarded as useless, because they have no direct industrial applications. Mathematics has survived, not as an instrument for disciplining human thought, but because of its uses in engineering.

Moreover, the methods and ideals of the natural sciences have been carried over uncritically into the study of human nature. Two fields of thought, each

valuable in itself, have been confused and harm wrought in each, but especially in the teaching of literature, by the failure to see that the materials and the educational values of the humanistic studies are so different from those of the natural sciences that their methods must be essentially other than those of the laboratory. It has been assumed that, just as by the application of the methods of natural science we get formulas for physical engineering and production, so by the application of these same methods in psychology, pedagogy, and sociology, we shall get formulas for human engineering, a new science of pedagogy, a new science of human conduct and a new science of social administration. So the naturalistic psychologists, pedagogists and sociologists have been busy these many years in packing up for a journey on which they have never yet started. In the meantime the world has been going to the devil, under the leadership of pseudoscientific and industrial specialists, aiming at quantity production and ignorant of the opportunities for the cultivation of human insight, of the life of beauty and of power directed by wisdom which ever lies at hand in the great historical creations and records of human culture.

What we must do is to build up, in the full light of the human record, a new ideal of liberal education. And we must make this ideal the central light tower and power house in both our state-supported and privately supported educational activities. Our end must be nothing less than the subjection of industrial society and the political state to the educational state, to the

cultural community of human kind. To this end we must revive the lost vision of the unity of knowledge. We cannot restore the medieval plan of the unity of knowledge, nor the one-sided idea of the unity of knowledge that prevailed in the days of the European renaissance. But we must, if our civilization is to endure, re-formulate, in terms of the elements of civilization that we have to-day, a new ideal of the unity of knowledge. And, as a guide to the upbuilding of a harmonious and vigorous plan of liberal education, we must take this principle—that the various departments of human knowledge have their focus, their unity of spirit and aim, in the incessant longing and striving of the spirit of man for comprehensiveness and harmony in his mental and social life and activity. This is the spirit of democratic humanism. Whatsoever we study or teach or practice is to be brought for judgment and evaluation to this test: how does it contribute to the realization of the personal life in individual and social comprehensiveness, in harmony of action and in a rich and balanced experience? In this sense liberal education must be humanistic.

The natural sciences must be taught and studied as instruments for the enrichment of the personal and social values of the humane life. No one can be considered liberally educated to-day who has no acquaint-ance with the basic methods and the great fundamental principles of natural science. To be specific, no one can be considered liberally educated to-day who does not understand the nature and scope of the theory of evolution, or the principle of the conservation of en-

ergy, and who has no appreciation of the data and methods on which these principles are based. No one can be considered liberally educated who does not see whatever natural sciences he studies or teaches as instruments, by which man is liberated from ignorance and superstition and from a ceaseless round of exhausting toil, so that he has leisure to realize the humane values of life, and training and opportunity to use that leisure to the best advantage. The natural sciences. rightly taught and rightly studied, enable the individual to become rationally free and at home in the world of nature. They train the mind in the powers of unbiased observation, analysis, and inference. They are the great impersonal instruments for the development of a richer, freer, and more harmonious community of human persons. Their true cultural function is to conserve and enhance humanistic social values. As elements in a liberal education the natural sciences serve two purposes: (1) they train the mind of the individual, and (2) they are powerful instruments by which man becomes the master of his environment. But what a ghastly failure it is when a student comes out with dogmatically acquired shreds and patches of scientific information, and with that narrow and inhuman dogmatism of spirit which leads him to assume that everything worth knowing or worth practicing can be studied by the methods of a laboratory!

The second great factor in liberal education is the humanistic group of studies—all those studies in which man as man is made the specific object of study. These are literature, history, and the social sciences.

Now man as man, whatever the conditions of his origin, is essentially a being who creates and re-creates, in order to satisfy the unceasing craving of his spirit, the great institutions and forms of culture. He creates and re-creates customs, laws, political systems, fine arts and literature, moral systems, religions, and philosophies. No one can lay claim to the rudiments of a liberal education who is ignorant of the humanistic or cultural backgrounds of our own civilization; who is ignorant of the great creative contributions of the ancient Greeks; who is ignorant of the work of Roman government and law; who does not know, as it has been happily put, that Rome is the bottle neck through which ancient civilization passed into the modern world; who is ignorant of the part which the Christian church has played in the building up of our civilization; or who is ignorant of the history of art. A liberal education must include an intelligent and vigorous appreciation of the whole cultural and political backgrounds of our civilization; it must include considerable first-hand contact with the great works of European literature. For after all, whatever we know, whatever we ourselves are, as civilized beings, has been nourished in us chiefly from the deep wellsprings of European culture. There is more of human nature revealed in the Bible, Homer, the Greek dramatists, Plato, and the great classics of modern literature than in all the textbooks on the science of human behavior that I have seen. By human nature I mean the nature that distinguishes man from the brutes. There is more instruction in regard to the play of causes and effects

in human society in history than in all the naturalistic sociologies.

Finally, an essential constituent in a liberal education is that synthetic interpretation—that drawing together of the various strands of human interest and activity which, separately observed, are at work in the natural sciences, in history and in literature—which is the task of philosophy. It is the high mission of philosophy to knit up the various points of view from which we may regard the several fields of the activities of man, the creator of culture, in his interplay with his fellows and nature, into a unity.

What our nation needs to-day is a new birth of the essential spirit of liberal humanism. The movement towards a more coherent plan of liberal education, based on the guiding principles of the unity of knowledge, directed towards the development in our democracy of a larger proportion of independent, reflective individuals, rich in knowledge and deep in sympathy, must begin in the colleges and spread downward to the schools. There are many signs that our best technicians are becoming sick of mere technique and are awakening to the realization that what society needs is liberally trained, thoughtful, courageous individuals.

There is a good deal of cant connected with the emphasis on social service as an ethical ideal. It is true that the good individual is always one who serves society, but the ways in which individuals serve their fellows are multifarious. The individual who develops to the highest degree possible his mental capacities is the type of individual who is able to render the rarest

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and most valuable services to his fellows. If we take individuality in the true sense, as involving the subjection of man's lower or sensuous nature to his mental capacities, there is no opposition between distinctive individuality and high service of society. Indeed, only those who develop their individualities to a high degree (can render signal services to society. There is a lower individualism and a higher individualism. The lower individualism is that of the person who lives as a selfregarding animal. The higher individualism is that of the person who controls his lower nature, who denies himself, who renounces some of the goods that satisfy the appetites of the human animal, in order that he may develop his mental and spiritual powers to their fullest. The cultural life of human society can only be carried on and enriched through the development and activity in it of many well-trained, high-powered individuals. The flourishing of the higher individualism is the indispensable condition of social progress.)

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(Democracy cannot flourish and progress culturally, unless it includes a vigorous mental and moral aristocracy) The worst of all perversions of the ideal of democracy is that which takes equality to imply mental and spiritual equality among all citizens.) The most unlovely and mischievous feature of actual democracy lies in the worship of commonness, vulgarity, mediocrity, indistinction. The cult of indistinction, which results in a leveling down of the cultural life to the low average tastes and powers of the common crowd, is inimical to the cultural progress of man. Why should

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equality, as Mr. Chesterton says, be taken to mean equality in rudeness? Why, I add, should it be taken to imply equal ignorance, equal thoughtlessness, equal vulgarity in tastes, manners, and morals? Properly speaking, democracy means an equal opportunity for all, in order that every one may be able to develop, to the highest possible stage, his native capacities, and thus contribute to the social wealth or culture the work of his own unique individuality. What we need, in place of leveling down, is leveling up. Whereas the difficulty of Plato's ideal republic is that it does not make sufficient provision for the cultivation of likemindedness: the cardinal difficulty of our present social trend, with its quantity production, vocationalism, and commercialism run rampant, is that it makes for a like low-mindedness instead of for gradations in highmindedness.

Therefore, as one follows the ascent from the primary grades to the university, the selective processes of education should function with greater efficiency and urgency in the direction of gradations in distinction, in high-mindedness. In the true sense of the term, a university must be an aristocractic institution. Its genuine function is to enable the development to the highest possible point of mental individuality. It exists to cultivate those individuals who are born, not with silver spoons in their mouths, but with exceptionally high intellectual and other capacities, in order that our social life, in the community and the nation, may be full and pulsating with spiritual creativeness; abounding in highly developed and rightly used human

powers that work together in community of purpose and faith for the upbuilding of Mansoul.

In brief, the humanistic ideal of education means that, in the pupils, there shall be developed an intelligent, broad, and vivid sympathy with all that makes for the enrichment of human power and experience. It means that education shall not be conducted, exclusively, for the gaining of a livelihood by technical knowledge of the processes of nature and machinery; nor even for this knowledge plus an understanding of physical sciences. It means that the student shall gain an insight into the great steps in man's social and cultural progress. It means that whatsoever capacity to appreciate or enjoy beauty in literature and the plastic arts he possesses, shall be developed. It means that the student shall be made familiar with great poetry, with painting, and architecture and sculpture. It means that he shall gain a lively knowledge of the great steps in human emancipation; in political and economic emancipation; in emancipation from superstition and fear of the unknown; in emancipation from the fears, prejudices, and suspicions that make man his own worst enemy.

All this, of course, subject to the limitations in the student's capacity to respond. But these limitations are not to be assumed off-hand. The truly humanistic attitude is to assume, until there is clear evidence to the contrary, in every child some degree of capacity to respond to all the elements in humanistic education. I envisage the school of the future as a beautiful, well-proportioned, honestly built, well-lighted building set

in a spacious playground. The rooms and corridors will contain reproductions and pictures depicting the world's great buildings and finest scenery, and portraits of the world's spiritual heroes. Each nook and corner will be decked with copies of sculptural masterpieces.

There will be a good organ or piano. The library will be stocked with masterpieces of literature; it will be spacious and well lighted.

There will be adequate equipment for laboratory work in biology, physics, chemistry, the manual arts, and the fine arts.

The teachers, I have already spoken of sufficiently. They will be well equipped, have sufficient pay to engage in refreshing and improving travel in their vacations. Secure of tenure, with a voice in the management of the school and curriculum, not overloaded with hours, nor unmanageably large classes, they will preserve their vitality, energy, and interest throughout their active careers.

The humanistic ideal of life and, therefore, of education is beautifully expressed by Shelley. I quote a few characteristic passages:

. . . the man remains
Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man
Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,
Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king
Over himself; just, gentle, wise: but man
Passionless?—no, yet free from guilt or pain,
Which were, for his will made or suffered them,
Nor yet exempt, though ruling them like slaves,
From chance, and death, and mutability,
The clogs of that which else might oversoar

The loftiest star of unascended heaven,
Pinnacled dim in the intense inane.

Prometheus Unbound, Act III, Scene IV.

Man, oh, not men! a chain of linkèd thought,
Of love and might to be divided not,
Compelling the elements with adamantine stress;
As the sun rules, even with a tyrant's gaze,
The unquiet republic of the maze
Of planets, struggling fierce towards heaven's free wilderness

Man, one harmonious soul of many a soul,
Whose nature is its own divine control,
Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea;
Familiar acts are beautiful through love;
Labour, and pain, and grief, in life's green grove
Sport like tame beasts, none knew how gentle they could be!

His will, with all mean passions, bad delights,
And selfish cares, its trembling satellites,
A spirit ill to guide, but mighty to obey,
Is as a tempest-wingèd ship, whose helm
Love rules, through waves which dare not overwhelm,
Forcing life's wildest shores to own its sovereign sway.

All things confess his strength. Through the cold mass Of marble and of color his dreams pass;

Bright threads whence mothers weave the robes their children wear;

Language is a perpetual Orphic song,
Which rules with Dædal harmony a throng
Of thoughts and forms, which else senseless and shapeless
were.

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The lightning is his slave; heaven's utmost deep
Gives up her stars, and like a flock of sheep
They pass before his eye, are numbered, and roll on!
The tempest is his steed, he strides the air;
And the abyss shouts from her depth laid bare,
Heaven, hast thou secrets? Man unveils me; I have none.

This is the day, which down the void abysm
At the Earth-born's spell yawns for Heaven's despotism.
And Conquest is dragged captive through the deep:
Love, from its awful throne of patient power
In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour
Of dead endurance, from the slippery, steep,
And narrow verge of crag-like agony, springs
And folds over the world its healing wings.

Gentleness, Virtue, Wisdom, and Endurance,
These are the seals of that most firm assurance
Which bars the pit over Destruction's strength;
And if, with infirm hand, Eternity,
Mother of many acts and hours, should free
The serpent that would clasp her with his length;
These are the spells by which to reassume
An empire o'er the disentangled doom.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.

Prometheus Unbound, Act IV

APPENDIX

WHAT IS A PERSON?—PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION

The supreme social aim of education has been stated to be personality. I propose now to state succinctly what I mean by this term as a guiding principle.

The concrete terms "person" and "individual," and the corresponding abstract terms "personality" and "individuality," are frequently used interchangeably. And there is no harm in that, if we know what we mean when we use them thus and what others mean. But, in the interest of clear thinking, it is well to make a distinction here. The distinction I am about to make has the sanction of historic usage in philosophy, law, and theology. Briefly, then, an individual is any organized or complex unity which, consisting of diverse parts or organs, functions as a living whole; is self-active, self-developing, and self-preservative. An animal is an individual; even plants have some individuality. A newborn babe is an individual; it was one even in the womb.

A person, on the other hand, is a reflective self-conscious individual, one that has developed in social relationships through social culture. A person is a rational self-determining individual, one that is responsible, that has the power of choice or selection. A person is thus an intelligent moral agent, who thinks and sets up conscious ends. Thus, only normal human

individuals, those who have reached some measure of maturity through social culture, are persons. All persons are individuals, but many individuals are not persons. Personality is a social and ethical concept. The individual becomes a person only in social relations and only in so far as he recognizes himself as a free and responsible moral agent in the community.

Personality develops through the assimilation of social patterns of thought. Only when the raw impulses of the individual have been organized and socialized, through the development of imagination and thought, does the individual attain personality.

Personality and character are one. Personality is an organized whole of attitudes, of active habits and powers. The *character* is the personality, when viewed from the social side by other persons; or when the individual reflects upon his own active attitudes, his powers and tendencies of feeling, thinking, and willing, as a social unit.

Hence the development of character is the development of personality. But it is better to say that the fundamental aim of education is "personality" than that it is "character." For the personality, with all its capacities for growth, adaptation, creativeness, is at any moment richer than the character or self, viewed in terms of its overt attitudes. There are potencies in the self that are not always in evidence in active attitudes. There is more in man than he shows to others to be there, or even to himself at any one moment. There are subconscious powers that transcend what the individual appears to be.

The central aim of education is not simply character but character through personality.

The fundamental aim of education is the unfolding or growth of personality, through the individual's assimilation of, and active response to, the *social heritage* which is presented to him by the whole cultural system of his time and place.

There are no substitutes for self-reverence, selfknowledge, self-control. The central and governing aim of education is to help the student to become a free and full self-determining person, to learn to respect himself and others, to have imagination, sympathy, and active regard for others, to love truth and justice and to concern himself with the progress of the human qualities in others as well as in himself. How can a teacher stimulate the pupil in these directions if the teacher does not possess these qualities? He must have reverence and regard for personality. How can he have these attitudes if he has no belief in the moral and spiritual nature of man? No one is fitted to be a teacher who regards man as merely a cunning and mischievous contraption of matter, a box of mechanical contrivances.

Perhaps the most influential philosophy abroad today is that one which, beginning by regarding man as nothing more than a beast, ends by regarding him as nothing but a chance and transient assemblage of centers of physical energy. I refer, of course, to mechanistic behaviorism and kindred materialistic philosophies of man. I have no quarrel with mechanistic behaviorism as a method of enquiry in the natural sci-

ences. But when it parades as the only "scientific" philosophy, its naïve and arrogant dogmatism is equaled only by its danger as a social philosophy. How can we expect to awaken self-reverence, self-control, fidelity, patience, sympathy in the spirit of the young, if we ourselves have no belief in these qualities? And we are not logically entitled to have any belief in them, if man be nothing but a machine. An ethical creed, a spiritual philosophy of life, a reverence for personality, a faith in the power of mind, in the right of the good life to supremacy, are indispensable to the teacher. We educators, who are to "carry the torch and tip with flame the outstretched unlit torches of the young," 1 will either quench the flame or produce a conflagration that will consume the torchbearers, unless we have faith in the potential dignity and nobility and the power of free creative activity of the human soul. What sympathy, what patience, what fidelity and persistence, what self-effacing reverence and regard can we have for the souls of the young, if we regard these souls as nothing but meaningless and ineffective effervescences which are by-products of purely physical process?

It has become almost axiomatic that the guiding principles for educational practice are to be found in psychology. And, if psychology be regarded as the science of selves, as the empirical and systematic study of mental processes, primarily in their mutual relations and secondarily in their relations to bodily processes; it is a fair assumption that the study of the

¹ Ernest Barker, Hibbert Journal, Vol. 21, (No. 3, 1923), p. 485.

normal adult mind (general psychology), of the development of the mind of the individual (genetic psychology), and of the social relations between minds (social psychology) will afford much guidance for educational practice. On the other hand a descriptive and colorless knowledge of mental processes, both in individual and social reference, do not suffice to determine the ends and values of education. For our conceptions and beliefs in regard to ends and values in education, no less than in other forms of social administration, must depend on our ethics or social philosophy; in other words, on our beliefs in regard to the value and vocation of man. And it is on these beliefs, as incarnated in wise sympathetic and energetic teachers, that the effective value of education depends. The educator deals with living individuals as entire selves, and if he assumes that the pupil is merely a bundle of mechanical contrivances he will go wrong; he may do irreparable injury to the pupil. Of such an educator it can be said, "The parts you have in your hands, missing is the spiritual bond."

Knowledge of psychology is valuable to the teacher only if it does not displace personal insight and wisdom.

At present there is much confusion in the field of psychology. The sharpest opposition is between those who deny that conscious mind has any effective rôle to play in the conduct of life and those who hold that psychology is the scientific study of mind, of conscious processes and their expression in human behavior, literature, social institutions. From the latter stand-

point, the method of introspection is still valid. It is admitted that merely to introspect the passing moments of one's individual mind is insufficient. One's individual mind must be enlarged and enriched by the study of what Hegel called "objective mind." This term includes all the complex structures and processes of social culture—language, manners, customs, morals, techniques, literature, arts, social institutions. Thus, the psychology of social institutions is a very important equipment for the teacher. The teacher who has not a genuine insight into the human or cultural significance of social institutions cannot be an intelligent social instrument. But the psychology of social institutions cannot be profitably pursued, the cultural realities cannot be understood, unless it is recognized that they are expressions of mind; instruments by which the human spirit is realizing itself through association and cooperation.

Human culture is the expression of the creative, organizing life of mind. We can know man, his powers and promises, only by a study of what man has become and is becoming as man. Now, the most significant characteristic of man is that he is ever creating and recreating by the activity of mind, values, purposes, ideals; and forms of social culture, in which he may realize these values, purposes and ideals.

For the mechanistic behaviorist man in all stages of his career is simply a bundle of mechanical reflexes. He begins life as a bundle of unconditioned or simple reflexes. Owing to his complex and unstable physicochemical constitution, in other words owing to the com-

plexity of the configurations of the electrons and protons, which constitute the mechanical baby at birth. various external stimuli produce various responses. These unlearned responses are the simple reflexes. Owing to the changes in the neural flux (which is electronic) in the central nervous system, the responses change and the neural flux changes further. Thus arise complex or conditioned reflexes. These are the physical structures which determine habitbehavior. When the baby first touches the flame, that is a simple reflex; but the ensuing pain produces another reflex which conditions the first, so that when the baby sees the flame again the first reflex is conditioned by the second and, starting to touch the flame, it stops before so doing. This is the conditioned reflex. Now for the mechanistic behaviorist this explanation is not only true of this elementary type of response, but of all types. All imagination, thought, desire, aspiration, resolve, choice; all noble, loyal selfless or just acts; as well as all bestial, selfish, craven acts; are equally physically determined by-products or expressions of conditioned reflexes. Mind is nothing but a system of implicit responses, determined by the configurate movements of the electron-protons which make up the nervous system. Mind, in itself, is nothing. It is merely an evanescent bubble, a sort of phosphorescent gas thrown off by physical movements.

Logically applied, such a philosophy of the self should lead us to treat the human machine in exactly similar ways to those in which we treat other machines. We could not reverence the pupil, sympathize with him, have regard for his individuality, any more than we could for the gasoline engine.

From this standpoint, there could be no question of ethical standards in education, no social philosophy enouncing an educational ideal. For there could be no criteria, by which we could determine ends in education, except that of making the human engines run well and long to satisfy the interests of the superior engines who, being in power, could dictate how the young engines should be treated. Might would be the only determining principle. We should have the exact opposite of Kant's great principle: "Treat humanity, whether in thine own person or that of another, always as an end and never merely as a means."

If humanity be nothing but a collection of mindless machines, it is nonsense to talk of ideals, values, goods, responsibilities, or any other moral or mental qualities.

Mechanistic behaviorism is false to the facts. We know, by introspection, that conscious desires, images, ideas, purposes, values, and even ideal altruistic and impersonal ends, are determiners of human conduct. We know, by reflection upon our own immediate experiences, that deliberation and choice play a part in determining our action. In brief, the exercise of voluntary choice and decision is as well attested a fact as any other in the entire gamut of human experience. When we look around and behind us, we cannot help recognizing that what we call civilization and culture are the expressions of a creative or organizing power in mind. The history of man and his present status, as a being who incessantly establishes, serves, destroys,

and reëstablishes cultures—the manual arts and sciences, literature and the fine arts, manners, morals, religions—are inexplicable on any other hypothesis than that of an organizing or creative power we call *mind* or *spirit*. The only psychology whose researches and results will be of value to education is one which never forgets the principle that the proper nature and vocation of man is to be a self-active, self-determining mind or spirit; a being who realizes himself through the cooperative activities of human culture, who shapes and reshapes, by the creative organizing and freely serving power which is mind, the forms and processes of human civilization.

There is a principle fundamental to coherent thinking known by logicians as the Law of Contradiction or Principle of Consistency. According to this law, two contradictory propositions cannot both be true. The same identical tablecloth at the same time cannot be both white and non-white. Now, for the mechanist behaviorist this law is simply the conventional pattern of laryngeal reflexes which certain individuals happen to follow. It is merely a language habit. If other individuals react in a different way, that is just as good a reaction; for example I may happen to react in such a way as to affirm that I have money in the bank when I have none there. All laryngeal reactions are on the same plane, since all are equally configurations of electronprotons. Contradictory assertions, assertions that do not correspond with the facts concerning which they are made—lies, delusions, superstitions—all are on the same plane, since all are equally laryngeal r flexes.

The murderer's defense and the judge's condemnation differ in no respect in that they are equally physically determined larvngeal reactions. Ruthless self-assertion, boundless egotism, the ways of the liar, the libertine, the exploiter of his fellows, the fraud; and humility, just dealing, meticulous truthtelling or sacrifice for others or for impersonal causes are all equally physically determined, conditioned reflexes. They are all on the same plane. The physical plane is the only really effective one. How then, by what principle of evaluation and selection, could it be determined what the standards or valuations and ends of conduct, law. social administration, education should be? What are to be the normative conditioned reflexes of teachers. lawgivers, judges, juries, mayors, administrators? All are, as physically determined reactions, on the same plane.

Furthermore, what are to be the criteria of truth in science (philosophy being ruled out of court)? Astrology, Pre-Copernican and Copernican astronomy; Aristotelian, Newtonian and Einsteinian physics; alchemy, chemistry, special creation of fixed species and evolutionary transformation in biology; are all equally language habits, conditioned laryngeal reflexes. Christian Science, Theosophy, Spiritualism, Dualism, Mentalism, Idealism, Materialism, Pantheism, Theism, and the Metaphysics of Behaviorism are all on the same plane—all are mechanical language habits, originating in the larynx. You flip your coin and take your choice amidst the cacophony of theories.

No theory, no method, no standard in conduct or

thought can have any validity against any other. All are equally expressions of the fortuitous merry concourse, the blind behavior, of the electron-protons. Your mind, your enemy, your wife, your child are nothing but boxes of mechanical contrivances. Only a fool or a physiologist would say this and the physiologist would not say "nothing but." He would only say, "For my limited purposes it is profitable to investigate the processes of the human body as if they were mechanical contrivances. But I do not mean that the self is nothing but a complex physical engine. For I do not assert that the mind is nothing but a part of the body." In so far as the mechanistic view of man is used simply as a working hypothesis by which to ascertain, as accurately as possible, the specific conditions, in the continuous interaction of the organism and its environment (which is the process of living), that determine the modes of response of the organism to the environment, it is a great good. For the more accurate knowledge of the ways in which the original plastic nature of the self is conditioned by the complex combinations of stimuli and response that leave their tracks in the brain is the necessary means to improvement in the conditioning factors-improvement in the social environment and, we may hope, in the biological ancestry.

It cannot be doubted that man is, with respect to his physiological processes alone, a very complex machine, but none the less a physicochemical machine. But, even as a mechanism, he is differentiated from merely physical machines in several respects. First, he is an

extraordinarily plastic machine; second, he responds and is modified as a living whole. It is impossible that anything serious should happen to any part of him without a reaction of the whole. An organic machine is not exactly like an inorganic machine. Third, man is a self-stoking, self-repairing, self-reproducing machine. Fourth, man is a feeling, perceiving, remembering, imagining, thinking machine. In other words, he is not even a mere organic machine. The most significant quality of man, after all, is that he is a thinking being. He does not just passively register, in his nervous system, the effects of environmental stimuli. He not only responds selectively; emphasizing and seeking some stimuli and ignoring or evading others. All organisms do this. But man builds up, by his individual imagination and reflection, colored and aided by his social culture (which, in turn, is a product of the human mind), his own systematic world-picture and life-view. Man is ever at work, making and remaking his world-view; his picture of the environing physical scene, of its forces and modes of operation; and his picture of the environing human scene, of the ideas, motives, interests, and aims of his fellows. He may be and, indeed, often is, far astray in his images and concepts of both nature and fellow man. But he can go wrong only because of this active selective, imaginative, and creative urge which is mind. Because of the same power he can go right, far and away beyond the capacity of any other organism. He seeks out many inventions-in mechanical technics, and in social cultures.

In folkways and customs, which are ideal demands,

ideal patterns for the individual in the group; in moral ideals; in the arts of æsthetic expression; in the scientific understanding of nature and himself; in religions and philosophies; man ever tries to give an account, in terms of mind-created images and concepts, of his own origin, career, values, and destiny in the presence of the whole cosmos. Of creative imagination and creative thinking, mechanistic behaviorism can give no adequate account. Indeed, it denies that images are anything other than words. Now self-observation in my own case, and, I believe, in other cases, shows that I can and do have many images without words. I happen to be a good visualist and I can see clearly many images of scenes in my travels without ever having the names either vocally or subvocally. I also have feelings, tendencies towards action, without words.

The error of mechanism lies, then, in what it rules out. The mechanist wishes to get an exact experimental science of human nature, a physics of man. He holds that the data and laws of physics are public, experimentally verifiable, and statable in mathematical terms. He seeks to subject human nature to this ideal. His zeal for exact science outruns his discretion and beclouds his observations.

The truth is that the immediate data of physics, namely, sense perceptions, are subjective and individual; just as are the data of feeling, imagination, purposive action, and subjective processes in general. What makes physics an objective and exact science is the possibility of ignoring the individual differences in perceptions, coming to a rough working agreement

as to the common features of perceptions and then inferring, from these similarities in perceptions, certain laws as to their physical causes. No one ever saw the electrons. They are inferred.

We are not able to correlate, to anything like the same degree of exactness, the physical processes in our own bodies and outside them with feelings, sentiments, images, ideas of action.

Bertrand Russell says, "Indeed all knowledge as to movements of matter is inferential, and the knowledge which a scientific man should take as constituting his primary data is more like our knowledge of dreams than like our knowledge of the movements of rats or heavenly bodies. . . .

"I hold that self-observation can and does give us knowledge which is not part of physics, and that there is no reason to deny the reality of 'thought.'" ¹

"To behaviourism as a metaphysic one may put the following dilemma. Either physics is valid in its main lines, or it is not. If it is not, we know nothing about the movements of matter; for physics is the result of the most serious and careful study of which the human intelligence has hitherto been capable. If, on the other hand, physics is valid in its main lines, any physical process starting either inside or outside the body will, if it reaches the brain, be different if the intervening medium is different; moreover two processes, initially very different, may become indistinguishable as they spread and grow fainter. On both grounds, what happens in the brain is not connected quite accurately with

¹ B. Russell, Philosophy, p. 175.

what happens elsewhere, and our perceptions are therefore infected with subjectivity on purely physical grounds. Even, therefore, when we assume the truth of physics, what we know most indubitably through perception is not the movements of matter, but certain events in ourselves which are connected, in a manner not quite invariable, with the movements of matter. To be specific, when Dr. Watson watches rats in mazes, what he knows, apart from difficult inferences, are certain events in himself. The behavior of the rats can only be inferred by the help of physics, and is by no means to be accepted as something accurately knowable by direct observation." ²

Russell's examination of the subject is cordially recommended as that of one who *knows physics* and *mathematics* and who is, as well, a clear-headed philosopher.

To sum the matter up briefly: The objectivity, mathematical uniformity, and fatal fixity of the laws of physics are arrived at by omitting the individual variations in sense experience, eliminating the personal equations, and thus ignoring the part played by the experiencing self in the constitution of experience. Physics is mathematically exact and universal, because it is built on deliberate abstraction from concrete experience. It considers only the identical or uniform aspects and relations of common experience.

To try to reduce the concrete individuality of the self, which experiences selectively, organizes its ex-

² Ibid., pp. 133-134 (quoted by permission of the publishers, W. W. Norton and Company).

periences, forms images and concepts and creates new experiences through imagination, reasoning and volition, to the terms of physics is like trying to present *Hamlet* with the rôle of the Prince of Denmark left out. The mind is an individual living whole, an active, self-determining organization which cannot be reduced to an accidentally concatenated grouping of merely physical forces. Nothing less than this living whole will account for either knowledge, volition, or that inner life of feeling and thought which is the real self.

The truth rather is that when one tries to conceive the real causes and grounds of the changes or events which make up the actual physical world—the world as actually experienced and not as reduced to a bloodless ballet of mathematical laws—one is forced to conceive the causes of these changes as remotely analogous to mind; to think of energy, of attraction and repulsion, of positive and negative electric charges, in terms derived from the self's consciousness of activity and effort. The picture of the underlying physical world presented by the new physics is that of dynamic centers of activity and resistance, moving according to certain patterns or forms, akin to the organizing forms of life and mind.

It is not necessary for the work of education that we should be able to solve the metaphysical question—what is the ultimate relation of mind and body? It may be that they are parallel aspects of the same organized configuration of energies; with two aspects, mental and physical. It may be that the organizing principle of the body and the mind are identical. Or

it may be that they are different, that the mind has a reality on its own account and that the body is its more or less imperfect instrument.³

What is essential for education is to work by the principle, which the unbiased consideration of the whole spectacle of human civilization supports, that there is a ruling mental or spiritual power, creative in some degree, in man and that to lead into fullest and most harmonious and effective play this organizing power is the awesome and glorious privilege of the educator.

The immediate bodily basis or mind is the activation of an organized system of neurones. We have no empirical knowledge of mental functioning apart from such a system. But we have a good right to say that the mental system is just as real as its bodily basis. Indeed, if "real" be conceived in terms of effective, analytic, and constructive functioning, the mental aspect of the individual is more real than the physical. The whole personality is the psychophysical individual. Of this living system, with its two aspects, the mental dynamic form or organization is the more significant aspect. It is, with respect to its bodily basis, a creative emergent; and not a mechanical epiphenomenon. As being a dynamic and creative form or system, the mind may, in some sense, outlast any given assemblage of neurones which condition its present functioning.

³ My own view is that the mind is the *entelechy*, the formative or organizing principle of the bodily life; the mind is the self-realizing purpose of the body, but it is a superphysical, organizing principle or form; man is a duad—body-mind—in which the second term is the superior, richer reality.

A probable belief as to the place of the individual mind in the universe could be justified only by a whole system of philosophy. I am not undertaking to state such a system here. I have already attempted this, in *Man and the Cosmos*; see especially chapters XXIII to XXV

NOTE

It does not fall within the scope of the present work to discuss the theory that the chief, indeed almost the exclusive, determiners of the individuality or personality are the endocrinal glands. If the extremist propounders of this theory be right, the power of education is not far from zero. Empirical evidence indicates that there is a considerable measure of truth in the theory. No doubt many individuals are pre-determined, by their biological inheritance, to be misfits in the social order in which they must live; to be mentally disordered or criminals. But the author rejects the claim that the entire personality and career of the individual is determined by glandular balance or imbalance, as the case may be, on two grounds: (1) There is plenty of evidence that the social environment is a determining factor, and that education is the most significant way in which the individual can be adjusted to the social order. (2) The theory of gland-determinism is, of course, a form of materialism. It asserts that all thinking, valuing, choosing and willing are byproducts of blind chemical processes. Until a precise quantitative one-one correspondence is established between the minute chemical differences and the very

significant differences in thinking, valuing, choosing, and willing that determine human conduct, we are entitled to accept the evidence of experience that there is in man a unique activity called "mind" or "spirit," which functions creatively. We grant that the functioning of mind may be clouded or warped by physicochemical imbalance, but we insist that the very notions of balance and imbalance, like other standards of valuation and action, are mind-derived.



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